THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FORTY-EIGHT FIRST QUARTER, 1954

George Philes: Bookman*

By HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

GEORGE Philip Philes, bookman, was also a character. All that knew the man or know about him and his works will agree, though with some it might come grudgingly. On little else would you otherwise find any two folk agreeing. Books he certainly did know; among books his whole life was spent. Admit that. But some kind souls will insist that his knowledge was superficial, commercial; will say they feel he grasped the titles but never could get deeper into the meaning of the message or of its place in literature. Stand with a superior loftiness, grant that he knew prices of books, the soft sides of buyers, and you will be asked if the man that dared father such a work as his *Philobiblion* [*sic*] in those critical Civil War days had merely a slipshod acquaintance with the books he talked about there and the writers he did so much to make known.

He surely was far from colorless, he certainly had the happy —or, was it unfortunate?—faculty of arousing either ardent support or violent opposition. From start to finish he was a positive character, an individualist.

Born in Ithaca, New York, April 15, 1828 (dying there Sep-

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 29, 1954.

tember 11, 1913), he showed through his whole life many of the characteristics of the pioneer stock that brought him forth—independence, assertiveness, alertness, and disregard for trivial and technical obstructions. His mother, Ama Davenport, born in Ithaca on February 11, 1801, was the child of Abram Davenport and Mary Johnson, married in 1798 as the first white couple in the town. She married George Philes in Ithaca on September 29, 1819, and in Ithaca the two spent the rest of their days, the father dying about 1869 and the mother on December 14, 1894.[1]

She was decidedly unusual in her knowledge of books, according to Mrs. Cynthia Morgan St. John, who knew her from Mrs. St. John's childhood days. Among other things, Mrs. St. John tells how "at ten years of age Ama found a copy of Dante in her grandfather Johnson's collection of books and by the aid of candles secretly conveyed to her room eagerly read it. This was the beginning of a lifetime of assiduous devotion to books. She became a cyclopedia of human knowledge and an intellectual companion not common even in a university city evolved from the premature hamlet she first knew." (Growoll scrapbooks in *Publishers' Weekly* offices.) Mrs. St. John was a life-long resident of Ithaca, donor of a Wordsworth collection to the Cornell University Library.

Of the boy's formal education we know little. *People of the Period,* edited by A. T. Camden Pratt at London in 1897, gives

[1] The *Ithaca Journal*, December 17, 1894, gives a long account of the mother and her family. On the 13th of December 1913 (Philes died on the 11th) it pays tribute to Philes in an obituary signed C. M. St. J. (Cynthia Morgan St. John). Another uncritical appreciation by Mrs. St. John is in the *Publishers' Weekly*, New York, January 5 and February 7, 1914. The *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia carried an equally fulsome encomium on its editorial page of May 31, 1898, signed "Penn" and written by William Perrine (according to a letter to me dated July 11, 1941, from Mr. Melville F. Ferguson, in charge of the editorial page). The two by Mrs. St. John are in a scrapbook owned by the *Publishers' Weekly*. Files of the *Journal* for the years mentioned are in the Cornell University library.

Selkreg's *Landmarks of Tompkins County* (Syracuse, 1894) and Pierce and Hurd's *History of Tioga, Chemung, Tompkins and Schuyler Counties* (1879) are sources for the family history.

us a sketch of Philes that bears all the indications that it was prepared by the subject or based largely on information given by him. This credits early schooling to "Ithaca Academy and the Classical Institute of Dr. Augustus Maasberg, Göttingen." Much the same record also appears in the entry in *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* which certainly got from Philes the entry it set forth.

That may seem to indicate a trip to Germany and study at Göttingen, but when or whether he made such a journey I have not been able to learn. Is it possible that Dr. Maasberg had lived in Göttingen but had not taken his degree at the University; had come to this country, started his "classical institute" in or near Philes' boyhood home, and was not unwilling to have his Göttingen connection brought to notice, even if no questions were to be asked about it? I do not know. It is certain that Philes the bookseller did use Latin and Greek quotations in noteworthy fashion. How much was due to a dictionary of quotations and how much to close contact with the originals must be answered by someone else.[2] Mrs. St. John in her sketch of Philes in *Publishers' Weekly* (1885, p. 413) says that he "followed a favorite German teacher for a short period" to the Academy at Homer, New York, some twenty or thirty miles from Ithaca, where he came to know Andrew Dickson White, a native of Homer, and four years his junior.

[2] To connect Philes or Dr. Maasberg and his "Classical Institute" with Göttingen I went through all the printed catalogues of the university and histories of the town I could find in New York; also such other sources as the list of students from this country attending Göttingen, 1782-1910, as printed in *German American Annals* (September-December, 1910, new series, Vol. 8) by Professor D. B. Shumway of the University of Pennsylvania. All to no avail on this point.

A letter to the librarian of the university at Göttingen, February 16, 1931, brought the following reply from Dr. Richard Fick, Director, dated April 17, 1931: "Es tut mir ausserordentlich leid, Ihnen auf Ihre Anfrage vom 16.2.1931 betr. 'The Classical Institute of Dr. Maasberg, Göttingen,' keine Auskunft geben zu können. Unsere Nachforschungen sind völlig ergebnislos geblieben: weder in unserm Bibliotheksarchiv noch im Städtischen Archiv noch in den hier verfügbaren handschriftlichen und gedruckten Quellen lässt sich das fragliche Institut nachgewiesen scheinen, ob es überhaupt existiert hat."

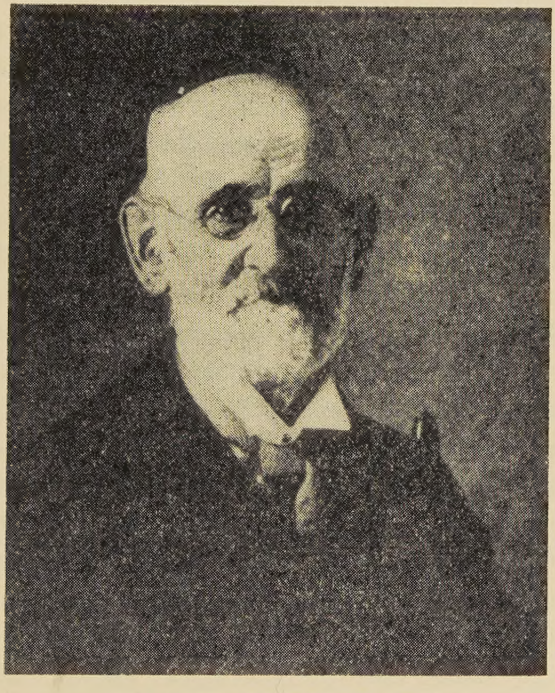
Another glimpse of early days is given by Professor Thomas Frederick Crane in his tale of the adventures of a book which he owned as a boy and sold, but finally got back after many years' separation. ("A Vagabond Volume," in *Cornell Magazine,* II [October, 1889], 1-8.) This joins Philes with a book, a college professor, and a murderer. The last was no less a thrilling subject than Ruloff, the Ithaca man who could neither explain the disappearance of his wife and child nor be convicted of murder because the bodies could not be produced, though he went at last to the gallows for another slaying not so difficult to prove.

Professor Crane tells how

> During the long period of his various trials and incarcerations extending from 1845 to 1860, Ruloff was for some time an inmate of the jail at Ithaca, and the writer well remembers being taken as a school boy to gaze through the grating at the redoubtable criminal. While there, Ruloff continued his studies and amused himself by imparting instruction to others. Among his pupils was a bright young man engaged at that time in a manual occupation, but already interested in intellectual pursuits. He might have been seen any day working at his bench with a volume of the classics fastened open before him. With such perseverance and his natural abilities, it is not strange that he soon became an accomplished scholar and has since occupied the very first rank among American bibliographers.
>
> When I first made his acquaintance in 1866, he was engaged in the purchase and sale of rare books of which he had a profound knowledge. He knew I was interested in the study of Spanish, and he had furnished me with books in that language. One day I showed him my little *Tragedie Latine* and he took a fancy to it and offered to buy it. I did not wish to sell it, but could not resist the temptation he put before me to exchange it for a collection of Spanish ballads. I reluctantly parted from the little volume with much the same feeling as one parts from an old friend whom there is no reasonable prospect of ever seeing again. The book was carried by its new owner to New York to begin over again its vagabond career.

Though Philes is not named here, Professor George Lincoln Burr, of Cornell University, who knew well both Crane and

Philes, told me that Philes was the "bright young man engaged at that time in a manual occupation," and that the context readily bears him out (with Burr, nothing more being needed, of course, than his word). It is charmingly open to question whether the bright young man was engaged in his "manual occupation" as an



GEORGE PHILIP PHILES

official inmate in the prison, or as a free and untrammeled outsider was permitted to study Latin and Greek with Ruloff behind the bars. By 1845 Philes was seventeen years old. He may well have finished what formal schooling was at his command so far, might have been learning a trade, and might have found village officials lenient enough to let him keep on with Ruloff his study of Latin and Greek hitherto sketched for him else-

where. That was nearly a hundred years ago, and it is perhaps not impossible to find city and county authorities winking at such an arrangement in those days.

Here we have one more example of how hard it is to follow clearly the path of this admittedly young man. When he was "working at his bench" was he carpenter, plumber, shoemaker? Mr. John Anderson, Jr., told me that he saw Philes working as a shoemaker "just around the corner on Sixth Avenue," shoes on his lap, awl and needles in his hands, the inevitable book on the bench beside him.

In June, 1880, came the auction sale in New York of the books belonging to Almon W. Griswold. Joseph Sabin made the catalogue, and in the preface wrote thus kindly about his fellow bookseller: "When he graduated from *leather* to literature, he marked the epoch by the conversion of a possibly honest F into a doubtful Greek ϕ, and his translation of the shoemaker's motto *'Ne sutor ultra crepidam,'* is, When you *do* get something to do, *'make it last.'* " (The reference is clearly to Philes and the amount of time he put in on the Odell catalogue.) The exuberance, or extravagance, of Philes in the use of display type in his catalogues and other publications at his prime might lead one to wonder if the "manual occupation" might have been that of a printer. Bench, a printer friend tells me, is a printer's term.

As to his formal education, we know little; nothing as to how and when he swung into the book trade. Ithaca, like so many other small towns in those days, had several dealers with good stocks of books and intimate knowledge of their contents, enough to have given the "bright young man" a good idea of handicaps and satisfactions, of dark sides and delights certain for the bookseller.[3]

People of the Period and *Appletons'* place him in New York

[3] H. C. Goodwin's *Ithaca as It Was, and as It Is* (Ithaca, 1853), p. 33, names Andrus, Gauntlett & Co., Wells & Selkreg, and W. L. Hind & Co. as three firms selling books to the 7,000 residents of the village.

City after 1854, when he was twenty-six; but he gets no mention in the city directories until four years later, when he makes his bow as book dealer at 75 Cedar Street, appearing regularly for almost a decade after that and then dropping out.[4] It seems certain that he lived and worked in the city until the nineties, but authority for that must rest more on tradition and other evidence than on the directory.

Mrs. St. John quotes him as saying he was the first man inside the door when the Astor Library opened in January, 1854. Whether that is to be taken literally or merely to mean that he was a visitor or reader at the very beginning of Astor's service to the public is not clear. She adds that he "talked much of the first librarian of the Astor Library, Joseph G. Cogswell," and felt that Cogswell "was blind as a bat regarding the importance of early Americana."

As to Cogswell's opinion on this point we know nothing. As to his recognition of important books in American history to be connected with and a part of the general research library he was then trying to form and develop, no one who has tried to glean where he sowed and reaped will fail to give him high praise.

[4] Trow's New York City directories carry Philes as follows:

1858/9, George P. Philes, books, 75 Cedar Street, h. 208 E. 18th
Mauran & Philes, books, 75 Cedar, h. 119 Tenth
Mauran, James E., books, 75 Cedar
1859/60, Philes, George P., books, 55 Cedar, h. 208 E. 18th
Mauran & Philes, books, 55 Cedar
Mauran, James E., books, 55 Cedar, h. 170 E. Tenth
1860/1, Philes, George P., books, 53 Cedar, h. 208 E. 18th
Philes & Sanders, books, 53 Cedar
1861/2, Philes, George P., books, 51 Nassau, res. 330 E. 30th
1863 " " " 64 Nassau, " " "
1864 " " " " " " "
1865 " " " " " " "
1866 " " " " " " "
1867 " " " " " " "
1867/8 gives him at 9 University Bldg.
Nothing later.

Brooklyn directories list him thus:

1888/90, Books—Phila., h. Wash. Av.
1894/5, Philes, Emma L., wid. of Geo. P., h. 70 Decatur.

Cogswell would doubtless have been the first man scornfully to deny that he was trying to "collect" Americana; would have insisted that he was trying to bring together a well-rounded collection of source material. In 1854 he was sixty-eight years old and Philes all of twenty-six. What a treat it would have been to listen to the youngster from upstate New York telling his senior how to make a good collection of books on American history!

If Philes' sales catalogues tell anything, they would seem to show that he cared more for—or at least carried a larger stock in—general English and continental literature than Americana, at least of the type made so familiar by the publications of Harrisse and Sabin or the catalogues of his later brethren such as Woodward. He surely fell into the very thick of interest in Americana when he worked with Harrisse, but that was some ten years or so later than these middle fifties.

One of his earliest sales catalogues is dated 1861 from 53 Cedar Street, a pamphlet of thirty-two octavo pages. The title carries two quotations: "Blessed is he that readeth" (Revelation 1:3) and

> Juvat inmorate ferentem
> Ingenuis oculisque legi, manibus teneri
> (Horace, *Epistles*, I, xix, 33).

Add to these the flavor of the notes scattered through the catalogue, and you see clearly that a personality stands behind the curtain.

This 1861 catalogue was followed by others issued in connection with the *Philobiblion*, twenty-four in all. The first three bore no series numbers, late issues being numbered from 4 to the end. The New York Public Library files show the following:

25	November, 1864	32 pages
27	November, 1866	[1-3]-33 pages
28	November, 1867	34-64 pages
31	1868	127-143 pages

The pagination and the dates show that 26, 29, and 30 were issued. (Let us hope that copies may be noted in other collections.) The first three bear 64 Nassau Street, the last 172 Fulton Street, as address. All offer much the same kind of material: general literature; and all have quotations in front, in 27 and 31 from Richard de Bury.

In December, 1861, Philes brought forth the *Philobiblion* (so spelled by him), a periodical as unusual in our book trade as was its editor and proprietor. It was undoubtedly a mirror for his tastes and his friends in books. Two years mark its span of life. December, 1863, was the date of the last issue; all in all an ambitious performance, commendable, well executed. Who is to say whether it failed because of the man, the times, the contents?

A fair idea of its scope and character is shown by the table of contents of the first number of Volume 1 and the last of Volume 2. The curtain rises on "Walpole's MS. Notes on Bayle's Dictionary"; a review of Meray's *Les Libres Precheurs;* "The Republick of Letters v. D'Israeli"; "Le Cosmopolite" ("ou Le Citoïen *(sic)* du Monde," see page 15); notes on the sale in Boston of the library of Zelotes Hosmer; miscellaneous items; notes and queries.

Number 24, the last, dated December, 1863, gave "Dialoghi di Amore, composti per Leone Medico, di Natione Hebreo, et dipoi fatto Christiano"; "Sir Philip Sydneys *Ourania*"; "Joseph Justus Scaliger, written by himself"; "Bibliographical Notes from the Portfolio of a Bibliophile"; miscellaneous items. Philes was then thirty-three years old.

Both volumes had title-page, table of contents, and index. With each number was a catalogue of books Philes had for sale, the first three with no series number, then numbers 4 (dated March, 1862) through 24 (December, 1863). Articles on "Books and Libraries in the Middle Ages," the story of the mythical library of Count Fortsas, extracts from Camden, macaronic poems, and other curiosities, all helped to give a wide appeal.

As one follows Philes in his own publications and in his relation to other printings, one recognizes here some of the characteristics that increase through the years, the beginnings of his love for blackface type, and of extensive use of capitals, small capitals, and italics. Use of the long *s* gave the feel of bygone days, he felt, and the use of India paper set his message off from the ordinary. On the title-page stood the familiar profile of Erasmus in cap and gown writing in a book, surrounded by "Statimque ut pecuniam accepero, Graecos primum auctores, deinde vestes emam. Eras. Epistol."

With number 1 came the following

Prospectus.

In publishing the first number of The Philobiblion, a few words of preliminary statement may be necessary, as to the peculiar aim and character of the Journal here announced.

The practical business experience of the Publishers, and their special correspondence for some years past with Librarians, Scholars, and Amateur Book Collectors in different parts of the country, have led them to believe that an useful and important desideratum in Literature might be supplied by combining the obvious utility of a priced Monthly Catalogue of a choice selection of standard works, with a series of Literary Essays, and Critical Notices of rare, curious, and valuable books. In addition to this scheme, the Publishers propose to devote a portion of the pages of The Philobiblion to a department of "Notes and Queries," hoping thereby to render it a highly useful medium of voluntary communication between students and literary men scattered throughout the country, on all topics of general interest connected with literature; and in which liberal freedom of discussion will be permitted and encouraged. In accordance with this design, the Publishers would respectfully solicit contributions to this portion of their Journal.

The Philobiblion will be printed on India paper, and published monthly at $2.00 a year, invariably in advance.

With the last issue of Volume 1 came this "Notice" on the verso of the last sheet of the table of contents:

With this concluding number of the first volume of The Philobiblion,

the Publishers gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of thanking their friends and subscribers for their kind encouragement and liberal support during the past eventful year. Considering the extremely unpropitious times in which The Philobiblion was announced and issued, the Publishers take great pleasure in stating that its success has been sufficient to satisfy their expectations, and to warrant its further continuance. . . .

If the second year saw hard sledding, it brought no complaints from Philes, at least in public. The volume ran its course complete with title-page, contents, index, no swan song. Nothing later appeared, however.

In 1871 J. W. Bouton announced a second series to be edited by Philes and published by Bouton at his bookshop at 706 Broadway, priced $4.00 a year. The notice is a four-page folder with a list of the proposed contents of the first number. I have found no record of publication.

Philes was persistent, as shown by the following note in the *Publishers' Weekly* of August 7, 1880:

G. P. Philes, the veteran bibliographer, has just issued a prospectus announcing the resumption of publication of *The Philobiblion*, after an interval of seventeen years. The first number of the new series of *The Philobiblion* will be published early in October of the present year, and the journal is specially addressed "to intelligent collectors and readers of rare, curious and valuable old books, to librarians and scholars, and, indeed, to all persons who seek consolation, recreation and instruction in good books, whether new or old—rare or common."

Though peculiarly a journal published in the interests of old books, a portion of the pages of *The Philobiblion* will be reserved for summary critical notices of and interesting excerpts from new publications and for concise notes and queries on all topics of general interest connected with literature. The editor also announces that particular attention will be given to important new books, published in foreign languages, and to articles of special bibliographical and literary interest, which appear in foreign literary periodicals and newspapers. Announcements and trustworthy reports of auction sales of old books, both in this country and Europe will occasionally be inserted, with, whenever possible, a list of prices paid for such books as are rare, remarkable or curious.

The Philobiblion will be printed in old style type, on good paper, and will form at the end of the year 2 vols., small 4to. It will be illustrated with facsimiles of title pages of rare old books and specimens of MSS., portraits of distinguished scholars and bibliographers, printer's devices and quaint ornamentations, and will be published on the 15th of each month, at a subscription price of $5.00 per year.

With a few slight changes the same notice appeared in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* of Boston (34 [1880], 411). So far as I can learn, nothing happened beyond the announcement of the prospect and hope. It certainly could not have been "business as usual" during Civil War days, but booksellers and book auctions did manage to keep alive. Evidently the tone and spirit of *The Philobiblion* were not appealing enough to call for an encore.

But as the War ended and Reconstruction thrilled the nation, Philes came in touch with another bibliographer more dynamic and positive even than himself; none other than Henry Harrisse, that remarkable combination of scholarship, erudition, and angularity. Harrisse was two years his junior; still a restless, inquiring soul, not certain of his life work but more than certain that he did not intend to keep on with teaching at the University of North Carolina nor with the practice of law in Chicago. He had come to New York recently, and had fallen in with Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow. To his great joy, Barlow asked him to list some of the Barlow treasures that happily had been taken home before the fire in the auction rooms of Bangs, Merwin & Company had destroyed the greater part of the collections which Barlow had built up so carefully and thoughtfully from the Aspinwall and other offerings.

A novelist or dramatist daring to bring together in New York a scholarly lawyer, a rising young bookseller, and a tumultuous young Frenchman might be charged by the critics with imagination beyond the power of normal readers or audiences, but just that happened with Philes, Harrisse and Barlow.

The three came together, however, and the union brought forth the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*. It is dated 1866, and Philes appears as publisher. Barlow was one of the top men of the New York bar, a man of taste, and a keen collector of books in his field of early Americana. Philes was almost entirely self-educated, but certainly by this time in fairly intimate touch with the book world. Harrisse, born in Paris, had come to this country in his twenties, and had settled in New York as legal correspondent for the branch of a Spanish bank in Havana. His work on the *B.A.V.* showed a remarkable instinct for bibliography in the brain of a man with no formal training in bibliography and but slight or incidental experience with the books of the 15th and 16th centuries; an amazing achievement for a man hitherto with no chance to handle intimately such books as were at his command in Barlow's home. Philes seems to have been given plenty of freedom in typographical display and similar details.

It is not improbable that Harrisse came in touch with Barlow through his law work, Philes as a seller of books. Whether Philes and Harrisse had known each other before the Barlow connection we can not say. Harrisse tells his side of the story in an unpublished autobiography still in manuscript, written by him in the form of a letter addressed to Barlow. The original, now in The New York Public Library, is dated 1883. It runs in part:

> This kind of epistolary disquisition on the rise, decline and fall of the *B.A.V.* would not be complete without the addition of a few lines concerning the financial history.
>
> We had discovered in the inner recesses of a dark store, not far from the old post office, a sort of second hand book seller, cynical, lazy, and thoroughly dishonest, but well versed in bibliography. Although he had never paid back a goodly sum of money spontaneously loaned by you to get him out of the sheriff's hands, we thought of giving him another lift.
>
> It was agreed that he should appear as the publisher of the *B.A.V.*, and start a subscription list; which he immediately did. Our first prospectus, dated November 15, 1865, stated that the book would be issued at $10 for the small paper copies. The work having grown on my hands,

and attained double its intended size, on July 1st 1866 we increased the price to $15. Many of the original subscribers refused, on that account, to stick to their subscription; others paid neither $10 nor $15, and kept the book nevertheless; one of these, a highly respectable New England gentleman, thought fit to blackguard us besides.

On the very day fixed for the issuing of the *B.A.V.* we were surprised to learn that copies in any numbers could be had in a certain Nassau Street basement, 25% cheaper than the subscription price. This early and highly promising piece of intelligence, though wholly unintelligible to you and myself, was true in every respect. Our grateful and delicate publisher, being hard up, had devised an ingenious way of raising the wind. First, he made up a long list of subscribers; second, he fancied they had paid their subscriptions; he then charged you with the commission on those fanciful sales, and paid himself with copies of the *B.A.V.*, which he at once and silently sold to Sabin at a great discount.

Thus did the *B.A.V.* become a drug in the market from the start. And to-day, August 10th, in the year of our Lord, 1883, after seventeen years of a wretched existence, our miserable edition of 450 copies (only one half of which was ever offered fairly to the public, and almost at cost price), is not yet out of print.

Just how literally is this to be taken? Harrisse certainly believed it. He never believed anything that he did not believe firmly and against the whole world. How charitable he was in his charging of motives, how tactful in making his requests may be a matter of opinion. He certainly did not get into relations with James Lenox like those with Barlow. He certainly thought better of the welcome he got at the Boston Public Library than at the Astor Library in New York. He certainly did not relish some of the references to his work in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*. Did he have Henry Stevens of Vermont and London in mind when he spoke of "a highly respectable New England gentleman"? One would fancy that his feeling about Stevens and the "Ander Schiffahrt" episode called for something stronger than even this "highly respectable" sarcasm. It is moderately clear how he felt about Philes, even seventeen years later. What Philes may have said we know not. Barlow, the man

of law, would probably have been first to say "Let's hear the other fellow's side," but any word from him has escaped my search.

Philes' friends—notably Mrs. St. John—believe firmly that he made contributions to the work important enough to justify his inclusion as joint author. Most of us would scarcely go that far, but would be surprised to find that a man of such experience with books—even a mere seller of books!—would not have had something worth while to offer in such an enterprise.

Adolf Growoll, well-acquainted with the book world of these years, and never given to overdue enthusiasm or praise, paid his tribute to Harrisse and his Dictionary in number 3 of the Dibdin Club leaflets (New York, 1899), saying that "as a specimen of American typography this bibliography has never been surpassed."

Surpassed how? Growoll no doubt meant to pay high praise. Author, publisher, and printer no doubt meant to send it forth in the best form and the best taste they could command. On page 519 Harrisse follows his "Emendanda et Corrigenda" with a note of regret for the errors that escaped his eyes and those of the "four careful proof-readers." He then goes on to say that "We also avail ourselves of the present opportunity to express our thanks for the skill displayed by Mr. John N. Sutherland, the compositor engaged in the execution of this work." Hand composition then, of course. No doubt that all felt they had something to their credit. Our tastes today would tend to something simpler. Sabin's *Dictionary*, begun in 1868, just two years later, was notably simpler and quieter in type display. Whether he chose that as in better taste or as cheaper in first costs we know not. Compare the Harrisse volume with what Daniel Berkeley Updike gave us in his printing of the John Carter Brown Library catalogue begun in 1919, a task calling for a strikingly similar kind of record of books of just the same kind as those noted by Harrisse. The restraint and moderation, with no lessen-

ing of clarity or emphasis, shown in the later page are striking and eloquent as to the difference in taste in fifty-three years.

This is a study of George Philes, not an investigation of the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, but the close connection Philes had with it, plus its obvious influence typographically on his later enterprises calls for no apology for stopping a moment to study the royal octavo volume of some five hundred pages. The title reads: *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. A Description of Works relating to America published between the years 1492 and 1551* ... New-York: George P. Philes, Publisher, MDCCCLXVI. Harrisse's name appears only on the dedication to Barlow and on the copyright page; the Introduction is signed only H.H., dated from New York University Buildings, May 15th, 1866. A colophon on the verso of page 519 bears the mark of Philes: the initials G.P.P. in white letters inside a circle with black background, the base of a white cross serving as horizontal diameter, with upright and two cross lines likewise in white above the circle. Just below the lower cross line is "N.Y."

On the title-page is this quotation from Gilbert Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une Bibliothèque*, pages 48-49: "On doit auoir cette consideration au choix des Liures, de regarder s'ils sont les premiers qui ayent esté composez sur la matiere de laquelle ils traictent, parce qu'il est de la doctrine des hommes comme de l'eau, qui n'est iamais plus belle, plus claire & plus nette qu'à sa source."

That, to be sure, might easily have been the choice of Harrisse or Philes. But when the Introduction opens with a quotation from Richard de Bury, the feeling is strong that Philes had some influence in the choice, if he was not indeed responsible for it; the more so when you note that the phrase is credited to "Philobiblion," the spelling he uses always in his frequent references to the good Bishop's work. This time the quotation comes from chapter fifteen, "Artes et scientiae consistunt in libris, quo-

rum emolumenta nulla mens sufficeret enarrare." Here, as in *Philobiblion*, the long *s*, not the round, is used.

How much of this typographic display—call it a riot of type, if you please—is due to Harrisse, Philes, the Bradstreet Press, the printer or to John N. Sutherland, the compositor, offers plenty of speculation. Certainly Harrisse never went to any such lengths of typographic exuberance in any of his other publications (except the Additions, which naturally followed the original as to style, though the printing was done by W. Drugulin at Leipzig for Tross, the Paris publisher, in 1872). Certainly Philes from the early days of the *Philobiblion* to the latest showed a delight and satisfaction in emphatic display.

Text face in the *B.A.V.* is Caslon old-style roman, pica or twelve point, with notes in brevier or eight point. Some titles are set in eighteen point, and when the original was set in Gothic characters, Gothic characters are used for the catalogue entry. German titles, too, appear in *Fraktur* or German blackface. Lavish use was made of capitals, small capitals, and italic, thus relieving the page from any charge of monotony.

The rectangular ornaments at the top of two pages and the ornamental initial are certainly striking. When one comes to the Odell catalogue, admittedly the work of Philes, some fourteen years later, one is inclined to wonder whether Philes was in 1880 putting once more to independent use the typographic tricks he learned in those earlier years, or whether it was that he first in 1866 had the chance to express himself in such fashion. When Mr. John Anderson, Jr., talked to me about Philes he said plainly that it was Philes who suggested the use of capitals for display in part VI of the McKee sale catalogue in 1903. Certainly everyone connected with the child of 1866 did his best to make it as handsome—or startling—a bit of printing as the types on hand, or his taste, permitted.

Philes was a bookman from start to finish, a go-getter as the

later phrase has it, never a writer of books; usually a seller of second-hand or antiquarian stocks. His ideas always leaped far beyond a merely passive lying-in-wait for customers to seek his wares; always aimed rather to be a guide to or an inciter to reading.

His connection with Harrisse gives a glimpse of the guide. The second character turns up about this time, when we find Philes urging the reading, or at least the buying, of old-time favorites in the shape of reprints fostered partly or wholly by himself. The first example of this comes in the shape of *The Paradise of Dayntie Devises.*

From March to the end of December, 1863, the following notice appeared frequently in the *Philobiblion:*

> Messrs Philes & Co. have ready for the press, and are taking subscriptions for, a reprint of **The Paradise of Dayntie Devises.** The text of this edition is taken from the reprint of 1810, edited by Sir Edgerton Brydges. The bibliographical notes have been prepared expressly for this edition, using Brydges as a basis, but incorporating much information that has been brought to light since his edition was issued. This edition will be printed in small quarto, in the best style of the art, upon India paper, and is limited to 500 copies, as follows:
>
> 400 on small paper, at $2.00 each;
>
> 100 on large paper, at $4.00 each.
>
> At these prices, copies will be furnished to subscribers only; and as soon as they are supplied, the prices will be raised to $2.50 for the small-paper copies, and $5.00 for the large-paper copies.
>
> Messrs. Philes & Co. propose to make this reprint of *The Paradise of Dayntie Devises* the first volume of a series of reprints of scarce collections of old English poetry. The next volume in the series will be "England's Helicon."

So far as I can learn, no copies of either of these reprints appear on the shelves or in the catalogues of any library. Better luck was his fate after the *B.A.V.* set forth in 1866. The next year saw Philes turning to the East with a reprint of Charles Wilkins' translation of the *Bhágavad-Gíta* (originally issued at

London by C. Nourse in 1785). This time a book really was born; hopes really were realized. The title-page reads: *The Bhăgvăt-Gēētā; or, Dialogues of Krĕĕshnă and Ărjŏŏn.* Translated by Charles Wilkins. New York: Reprinted for Geo. P. Philes, New York University, MDCCCLXVII. The book is an octavo of 3 preliminary leaves, 5-117 pages.

The printed prospectus ran thus:

64 Nassau Street,
New York, February, 1867.

Reprint of

The Bhagvat-Geeta; or, Dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon, in Eighteen Lectures, with Notes. Translated from the Original, in the Sanskreet, or Ancient Language of the Brahmins. By Charles Wilkins, London, 1785.

The extreme rarity of Sir Charles Wilkins' English translation of The Bhagvat-Geeta has long been a matter of frequent and just complaint among scholars, and intelligent collectors of valuable books, both in this country and in Europe.

Having received, during the past two months, more than fifty orders for a single copy of the work, (which was advertised in my Catalogue for November, 1866,) I have concluded to reprint a small edition to satisfy this demand, and to render the book generally accessible to all persons who may desire to own it.

The book will be handsomely printed at the well-known press of J. M. Bradstreet & Son, in one volume, 8vo, and furnished to subscribers at $3 a copy. As but few copies will be printed beyond the number necessary to supply subscribers, the price to *non-subscribers* will be advanced twenty-five per cent as soon as the book is published. Subscriptions will be received until April 20th, and the volume will be ready for delivery in the early part of May.

All communications should be addressed to

Geo. P. Philes,
No. 64 Nassau St., New York.

The book came out in due course, "261 copies printed for subscribers," according to the note on title-page verso. It is evidently as accurate a reproduction of the 1785 original as the Brad-

street Press composing room could offer; some accents appearing, with others evidently beyond the type galleys of the Press.

I judge that all tried to make sure that it was "handsomely printed," and therefore turned to that new star in the heavens, wood-pulp paper. Those of us lucky enough today to lay hands on a copy will be sad that the printers of those days could not foresee what their books would show their followers, thanks to the choice of up-to-date wood-pulp stock rather than old-fashioned rag paper.

This same year, 1867, connects Philes with a decidedly different book and author. The latter was none other than Mrs. Augusta Jane Evans Wilson, one of the most popular writers of the time, her vogue coming down into the memory of many now alive. *Beulah, Macaria, St. Elmo,* and half a dozen others were all intense, romantic, melodramatic, emotional, with superbly virtuous heroines and supremely reprehensible villains. *St. Elmo* came out in 1866. Next year Charles Henry Webb, one of the best-known newspapermen of the time, broke out with a parody "*St. Twel'mo; or, The Cuneiform Cyclopedist of Chattanooga.* By C. H. Webb. Author of 'Liffith Lank.' Illustrations by Sol Eytinge, Jr. Old saws from modern files. New York: C. H. Webb, 1867." (59 pages, 12mo.)

The pun on Philes on the title-page is plain enough, but on page 31 the connection is tied with a knot sure to hold: "More things, in fact, were in these bachelor quarters—he never did things in halves—than Horatio or even the fanciful Philes ever dreamed of in their Phileosophies."

On page 36 we find:

> After turning for an hour or two, she finally turned away, and buried herself in a reprint of the Bhagvat-Geeta, just published by Philes. The Targum had hitherto been her pabulum during solitary moments, but she had chewed upon it so long that she desired a change.
>
> Suddenly she was recalled from the delicious dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon by a mellow voice under the window, singing: . . .

A variant note is struck by Philes' connection with the Agathynian Club reprint of the *Proverbs* of Erasmus, translated by Richard Taverner and first published in London by William Middleton in 1539. This Club had three members: Dr. William A. Hammond, Francis Suydam Hoffman, and "Abe" Simpson. Dr. Hammond was a scholar, an author, a physician, and Surgeon-General of the Army in 1862-64. Hoffman was a well-known New Yorker, a book collector and worthy citizen. Simpson was superintendent of the Bradstreet Press, also a member of the firm supporting the Agathynian Press. The Club was formed in 1866 "to stimulate the development of the typographical art in this country to its utmost perfection," one of its methods to be the reprinting of old, rare, curious volumes. (Growoll, *American Book Clubs*, pp. 145-146.)

Two of its publications are often found on the shelves of the larger libraries, but a third, edited by Philes, is uncommon enough to call for special attention. Dr. Hammond edited the first two publications of the Club. Number One was a reprint of "Advice to the Officers of the British Army," first printed in London (the 6th edition, 1783, chosen for this effort). Number Two was John Langley's (*sic!* really done by Thomas Langley, Canon of Winchester) translation of the *De Rerum Inventoribus* of Polydorus Vergil (1603). The two bore 1866 and 1868 for dates.

It was planned at first to issue as number two of the series a reprint of an unspecified London edition of Richard Taverner's issue of the *Proverbs of Erasmus*, with Philes as editor—but the gods willed otherwise. The Polydorus Vergil came as number two because the whole stock of Erasmus was (supposed to have been) burned in a fire at the bindery, none rescued. One copy did escape, however, come up for auction in New York in 1919, and go for $4.25 to the Grosvenor Library in Buffalo, New York. The story will be appreciated better by reading the following notes taken from contemporary sources, the first being the print-

ed prospectus bound in The New York Public Library copy of "Advice to the Officers of the British Army."

The second publication of the Agathynian Club will be a reprint of a very rare and valuable old English translation of the "Proverbes of Erasmus," of which the fac-simile title-page is as follows: [not here reproduced]

Very few copies of this book are known to exist, and its pungent, witty, and curious proverbs make it a desideratum for every bibliophile.

The book will be edited by Geo. P. Philes, Esq., of this city, who will prepare a biographical notice of Erasmus, and a bibliographical account of the various editions of the work.

The work will be reprinted in black letter, and will be as perfect a copy of the original as can be made with type cast at the present day. The form will be medium octavo; the number of pages about two hundred. It will be issued on the 15th of April.

The typography will be that of the Bradstreet Press. No pains will be spared to make this second publication equal, if not superior, to the "Advice to the Officers of the British Army," which was the first issue of the Club, and which has received from connoisseurs the highest encomiums as a work of typographical excellence.

Subscribers to the complete series of the publications of the Agathynian Club will be supplied in proper order with the earliest numbers of the works printed. Should more than one hundred subscriptions be received, those in excess of that number will be returned. A very few copies of the first work printed by the Club remain on hand, and will, till the second is issued, be sold at the subscription rate; after that date, the price will be advanced to ten dollars. The same rule will be followed with all subsequent publications. One hundred and twenty copies only will be printed, of which one hundred will be for sale, and twenty for private distribution.

The price will be Five Dollars, paper; Six Dollars, extra cloth, top edge gilt. Subscriptions will be received by Messrs. J. M. Bradstreet & Son, of the Bradstreet Press, 18 Beekman Street, New York, and by Messrs. John Penington & Son, 127 S. 7th Street, Philadelphia. The price of future publications will be duly announced. They will vary according to the size and illustrations of each volume.

New York, March 1st, 1867.

In his *American Book Clubs* (New York, 1897), Mr. Adolf Growoll notes the Club (p. 145) and gives a transcript of the

title-page and a description of the work, though it is not clear whether he speaks from examination of the 1550 edition or the New York reprint. He ends by saying, "The book as described above is simply a reprint of the edition of 1550, as edited by Mr. Philes. None of the biographical and bibliographical matter prepared by the editor for the volume, part of which was printed, seems to have survived" (p. 151). Growoll calls for 150 copies as against the 120 noted in the Prospectus.[5]

His account of the book may almost be accepted as firsthand evidence, for he says (preface, p. xi) "Mr. George P. Philes, the well-known bibliographer, contributed much that others among his contemporaries had overlooked, and to his watchful and critical eye the correction of much of the earlier data is due." It scarcely seems unfair to assume that Philes' recollection and the statement agree with the facts. On page 148 Growoll tells us: "The book had actually passed through the press and lay folded in the bindery, waiting to be issued as the second volume of the Agathynian Club. There every fragment of the whole one hundred and fifty copies was destroyed in the fire that consumed the Bradstreet book-bindery. The fate of this book sealed that of the club also."

In a footnote (p. 149) he adds: "It seems that two of the members of the club left the third in the lurch and issued surreptitiously what now passes as the second volume of The Agathynian Club—the Vergil. The whole of the Erasmus also does not seem to have perished. Mr. Hoffman secured some copies—how many it is not known. He evidently kept the matter secret, as

[5] "Agathynian Club.—We have received a beautifully printed prospectus of the proposed publications of this club, which, we are told will be that of the Bradford Press, and will equal, if not excel, the best productions of the Shakespeare, Chiswick, and Didot Presses.

"The objects in view are the reproductions of original publications and reprints of rare and curious American, English, French, and Latin works, on *all* subjects, and in limited editions. The first work to be reproduced will be Captain Grose's *Advice to the Officers of the British Army*, with an Introduction and Illustrative Notes by a competent hand." (*Historical Magazine* [New York, 1866], Series 1, Vol. 1, Supplement, page 200.)

neither Dr. Hammond nor Mr. Philes were [*sic*] aware of the fact. It was only by chance that I learned that Mr. Hoffman gave a copy to the foreman of the bindery, saying that the work would 'probably never see daylight anyhow.'"

I had looked for the entry with no success in the catalogues of libraries and collections, and was ready to set it down as one more unsettled problem connected with George Philes, when one day the late Miss Ruth Granniss, then librarian of the Grolier Club, showed me Catalogue Number 1433 of the Anderson Gallery auction sales, "Miscellaneous books from the residences of Mr. Frank KcKee [*sic*] and Mrs. Harvey Nebe to be sold the afternoons of Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, May 21, 22, and 23 1919." And there as lot 6 stood the following:

> 6. Agathynian Club. Proverbes or Adagies gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus by Rycharde Tauerner. With newe addicions as well of Latyn prouerbes as of Englishe. [*Frontispiece. Printed in Black Letter, with facsimile of the original title-page.*] 8vo, full morocco, blind emblematical tooling, uncut. [New York, 1867] The Second publication of the Agathynian Club. 120 copies printed.

It went for $4.25 to the Grosvenor Library of Buffalo, as noted above.

Of the original the London Bibliographical Society check list (STC 10436) notes a copy of the 1539 edition in the British Museum; another issue (STC 10437) with the same date in the Huntington Library and in the library of Sir R. L. Harmsworth (it is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library); the 1545 edition (STC 10438) in the Bodleian, Cambridge University, and Huntington libraries; with the edition of 1550 (STC 10439) cited from the catalogue of the Newdigate sale on January 22, 1920.

Dr. Hammond and Philes come to the front together once more in this year of 1867. Lippincott then published *Robert Severne: His Friends and His Enemies*, a novel by William A. Hammond. In the story a man lost his first wife by death; is charged

with her murder; is acquitted at the Old Bailey, and then marries the granddaughter of John Holmes, a bookseller of New York City. The scene shifts from New York to the far west, to London, and to the Continent, with touches of alchemical experiments, burglars, books, and unique volumes from the pen of Ulrich von Hutten. Scarcely a page is without thrill or heart throb.

It is Mrs. St. John who identifies Holmes with Philes, and as it was Philes himself who told her, it is surely an unfairly questioning soul who would try to follow the parallel with doubting eye. (*Publishers' Weekly*, LXXXV, 19.)

The story opens in a bookshop "in one of the most crowded thoroughfares of New York," housed in an "old brick building black with age."

> As has been said, the windows were not overclean. In honest truth, it must be admitted that they were positively dirty. The panes were small and the sash was heavy and clumsy. The sign invited attention to "John Holmes. Old Books. Rare Books. Curious Books."
>
> Within, to the indifferent observer, the aspect was still more discouraging than that of the exterior. A long, narrow room, dark and dismal-looking, books ranged around the walls on common deal unglazed shelves and piled on tables of similar material placed in the middle of the gloomy area. There were no luxurious morocco, calf, or Russia bindings glittering with resplendent tool-work; no gaudy sheep and cloth covers enveloping the ephemeral literature which comes today and tomorrow is forgotten; but there were parchment and vellum and black musty calf and worm-eaten wood, within which were to be found treasures which made the heart of the poor bibliomaniac beat with an envious throb, and even caused the wan, pale face of the mentally exhausted student, to light up with renewed excitement.
>
> It seemed to be a matter of the most supreme indifference to all concerned in the establishment whether any sales were made or not. No anxious clerk rushed forward with bows and smiles to greet the customer ere the tip of his nose had fairly passed the threshold. On the contrary, he was permitted to thread his way among the tables to the back of the room, perhaps passing on his route several individuals, who unattended

and unwatched, were standing in front of the shelves, gleaning a little from this and a little from that volume, or else in unrestrained bibliophilical liberty, walking along the ranges of shelves, seeking by themselves for what they might require.

At the extremity of the room was a high desk and a high stool, upon which latter would probably be found seated a tall and thin gentlemanly-looking and elderly personage, wearing a broadbrimmed hat and gold spectacles, whose whole demeanor was remarkably quiet and reserved, and who, unless he was addressed directly, never took his eyes from the book he was studiously perusing, but left the intruder with full license to follow the examples of those he had passed on his way. If asked whether or not the book wanted was on hand, he would either answer shortly but politely in the negative and resume his scarcely interrupted study, or else would descend from his elevation, and going straight to the spot where it stood, would hand it with undoubted but half suppressed reluctance, as if dreading the prospect of its passing beyond his control.

The reader will make a mistake if he supposes we have been describing Mr. John Holmes. Very few of the visitors to the old book-shop got beyond the high stool and its occupant, Miles Standish Goodall, Mr. John Holmes's partner, and friend of forty years' standing. There was an inner temple, beyond the precincts of which the head of the establishment seldom emerged, except when he left it to go to his residence, which he did every day at five o'clock with sidereal punctuality. Into this sanctum sanctorum or "den," as Mr. Holmes preferred to call it, casual buyers were not admitted. None but the regular frequenters of the establishment, who, from long acquaintance, had been recognized as true bibliophiles, were allowed to enter its limits, and thus to the great majority of those who were courageous or earnest enough to visit Mr. John Holmes's bookshop, his existence was not only unknown, but was even unsuspected.

The whole appearance of the "den" was much more genial than that of the outside room. Not only was the light better, but there was a warm and comfortable carpet on the floor, and, in winter, a grate full of blazing cannel coal gave additional cheerfulness to the scene. Instead of the plain pine shelves of the shop, the walls were lined with handsome walnut book-cases, filled with elegantly but not gaudily bound volumes. There was a sofa covered with green leather, half a dozen arm-chairs to match, and a large green cloth-covered table, at which, with several books and numerous half sheets of paper covered with writing before him, on the afternoon of December 31st, 1858, sat Mr. John Holmes, book-

seller, looking as intensely comfortable as a good conscience and a fair share of this world's goods and learning could make him.

Enough has been printed here to give an idea of part of the setting. Books run through the theme from start to finish, not as a vital element of the plot, but certainly enough to justify mention for anyone who cares to talk or think about books.

Even if it calls for some strain to identify Holmes with Philes through the whole tale, it is probably not unfair to admit that the general atmosphere of a dingy outer room stored with books, and an inner office for the proprietor in conference with familiars may offer a suggestive setting for the scene of Philes' working days. His own opinion of the book and the author is set forth thus in his catalogue of February 28, 1867:

598 Hammond (William A.) Robert Severne, His Friends and His Enemies. A Novel. 1 vol. 12mo, cloth. Philadelphia, 1867. $1.75.

The author of this entertaining novel is well known in this city as a physician of extraordinary scientific attainments, and as a most enthusiastic bibliophile. The results of a large professional experience, and the wide range of learned research embodied in this work, together with the numerous apt allusions to rare and curious books, throughout the entire volume enhance in a very remarkable degree the fascinating interest of the story. In extensive and thorough cultivation, Doctor Hammond appears to be a lineal descendant of the great physicians of the 16th and 17th centuries—the Scaligers, the Cardans, the Gui Patins, etc., who were, in short, the "dictators of learning" in an age when a physician who could read his Galen in Greek and his Celsus in Latin was not considered a literary monstrosity—"a marvel and a show."

Philes had now reached a standing in the world of books sufficient to deserve an honorary M.A. from Dartmouth College in 1868 (not 1858, as given in *People of the Period*). For the next decade we hear little about him. In 1873 he brought out a small octavo of 67 pages, *How to Read a Book in the Best Way* (New York. Printed for George P. Philes, No. 5, Beekman Street). Cover and title carry this from Emerson: "The colleges, whilst they provide us with libraries, furnish no professor of books;

and, I think, no chair is so much wanted." On the verso of the title-page is the Ruskin quotation beginning, "What do we as a nation care about books?" Characteristic Philes typographic touches show everywhere. The dark blue cover has the title boxed in a rectangle of printer's rules; blackface type is used now and then as half-title display for dividing one part from the other; the last five pages are given to an appreciation of "Old Books."

On the last flyleaf comes word that Philes is working on a reprint of Pancirolli's *The Lost Arts, or a History of Many Remarkable Things lost, which were in use among the ancients, and an account of Many Excellent Things Found now in use among the moderns.* It goes on to say that Philes had "in forward preparation a carefully revised reprint," for sale at $3.00 to advance subscribers. But once more his plans seem to stop with the announcement, for no such reprint seems to be listed either in lists of new books or of old.

About this time he went to Charles Scribner's Sons, but just when he joined or how long he stayed I can not learn. Mr. Arthur H. Scribner told me, "I personally remember that he was at one time in the employ of the House in the Rare Book Department, but I do not find any one else now connected with us who has any more definite recollection than this, nor have we any records to which we can refer." (Letter of March 3, 1931.) Mr. Ernest Dressel North wrote, "I went to Charles Scribner's Sons on November 1st, 1887, and [George J.] Coombes had recently succeeded Philes as head of the retail department and in charge of the rare books. So Philes had been there prior to that time." (Letter of March 5, 1931.) There is no doubt as to the connection, but how long it lasted or why it broke off is speculation pure and simple.

In the late seventies the sale of the Andrew J. Odell library was one of the outstanding events in the book world of the country. The first part was sold at auction by Bangs & Company at

656 Broadway on November 18, 1878, and the four days following, with part two on Monday, March 15, 1880. Philes made the catalogue; his name is on the title-page, and his handiwork is plain in nearly every line of the text. Passing over the forty-line cover title, it may be enough to set down here the inner title: *Bibliotheca Curiosa. Catalogue of The Library of Andrew J. Odell* Notitia Librorum pars Historiæ est, nulli eruditorum prætermittenda, qui causas atque instrumenta eruditionis nosse cupit. Prepared by George P. Philes vol. 1. New York Sears and Cole, Printers, 51 Maiden Lane Mdccclxxviii. With change of volume number and date of publication, the second part is the same as to title. The two are paged continuously, preliminary pages (viii) in the first being followed by pages numbered to 251, then one unnumbered, and one with printer's (or, the compiler's?) device and the colophon: "Typographie de Sears et Cole a New York juillet Mdccclxxviii." Part 2 has cover title, half title, the formal title as noted above, then swings on with pages 257 to 451, with the device and colophon (date here: Mdccclxxix) as in part 1.

It all speaks emphatically of Philes: the use of Gothic type, red ink, typographic ornaments, quotations from Latin and other tongues; the same riotous or effervescent extravagances he had shown in Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* twelve years before. The device on the colophon shows a berobed old man with cap on head, fingers of his right hand at his lips, and left hand outstretched in warning or admonition, the whole enclosed in Latin and Greek quotations. At the top "Digito compesce labellum" (from Juvenal 1, 160); to the left "Immorior studiis, et amore senesco sciendi" (Horace, *Epistolae*, 1, 7, 85); to the right "Multa legas facito, perlectis perlege multa"; and below "Μακάριος ὁ ἀναγινώσκων." Just why the colophon should have turned to French to tell its story is for Philes to say.

The title-page is a riot of black and red, most of the initial capitals in red with the rest of the word in black. The first line

is in italic caps and lower case, following a device in black and followed by a red cross; then comes a 16-em line in red; then "Catalogue" in a large Gothic face, caps and lower case, red crosses separating the letters. The fourth line is in red, Gothic caps and lower case, a bit smaller than the second; here again each letter separated by a device. The sixth goes to commonplace roman caps and small caps, in black, but with red initials, the same as the line noting Philes as cataloguer. "Vol. I" is impressively boxed in red hairlines. The printer's name is in capitals with red asterisks separating the words; the date in black Gothic caps and small caps, with Roman numeration of course. The text is in old-style roman, eleven or twelve point; entries in hanging indentation under the lot number set at the left-hand margin, each number subscribed by a short 1-point and hair line in black. Caps, small caps, and italic run joyously everywhere, the notes usually in 6 point. All fifteenth-century books, some later, have titles set in impressive black Gothic, and some German titles use German blackface or *Fraktur*.

When initial letters change in the alphabetical arrangement there comes an ornamental letter, accurately well set and lined up. (No doubt as to the careful imposition and presswork.) These changes are marked also by block ornaments at the top of the page where the new alphabet starts: curious and fanciful sketches of dwarfs and gnomes and birds and animals fantastically set forth, with surprisingly few repetitions in the twice twenty-seven changes. So, too, at the end of each letter there comes a smaller device, more repetitions here than with the ornaments at top of the page. In some copies of the catalogue the top ornaments are printed in green, red, and other colored inks; plain black in ordinary copies.

And yet, set against this vigor—extravagance?—is his statement in the prefatory "Note" telling how he yearns for simplicity:

In the preparation of this Catalogue unusual care has been taken to transcribe the full titles of the books with scrupulous accuracy and literal fidelity to the text, and, at the same time, to point out all serious defects or slight imperfections in the internal condition of the books, which were discovered in a careful examination of each volume. That florid style of bibliographical exaggeration, which of late years, has become rather offensively conspicuous in works of this kind, has been studiously avoided.

Numerous bibliographical Notes and References have been inserted, relating chiefly to the history, literary value, or some interesting peculiarity of the various works under which they appear; and it may also be stated, that not a single reference in the entire Catalogue is made to any bibliographical authority, which was not, at the time, directly under the eye of the compiler.

A large proportion of the books in this Catalogue afford unquestionable evidence that the present owner was not merely the collector of a most curious and valuable library, but that he was a diligent and critical reader of the books he collected; and it is presumed their intrinsic value is, in no small degree, enhanced by the numerous learned and interesting MS. notes which many of them contain. It is proper to remark, that the owner's autograph will be found in nearly every volume.

The 1,330 lots in the first sale brought $3,991.54; the 1,104 in the second fetched $2,607.31, according to the copy in the Grolier Club library. The total of $6,598.85 scarcely suggests a ravening hunger for such fare then and there. Would that the records of the printers were at hand to tell us how much the catalogue cost.

The whole pleads for study. One wonders about the man who made such a collection; how much it shows his own tastes, how much the results of dealers' offerings. Is it forcing the matter to say that the general tone and tenor here seems rather like the impression given by the lists in the *Philobiblion*, of general interest rather than systematic specialization? Old familiar faces greet us many times. Dibdin has twenty titles in the first part, Halliwell thirteen, Peignot forty-two, Sir Edgerton Brydges twenty.

Andrew J. Odell, the owner, was a member of a family that

rendered noteworthy public service in New York as university professors, as legislators, and as governor, in Newburgh, Albany, and New York City. He was long connected with the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad,[6] and needless to say played no unimportant part in the book world of the city. He died soon after the sale of Part Two.

It was a day of personalities in the book trade then quite as much as in the newspaper world. The sale of the Almon W. Griswold books by George A. Leavitt & Company in June, 1880, gave Joseph Sabin his chance to sing the praises of Philes in his preface to the catalogue:

> The catalogue is the work, in part, of an amateur whose diffidence led him to apply to me to finish it by cataloguing the more important and difficult items—a work which had been commenced by another person, whose labors suddenly ceased—he, in turn, having been succeeded by another hand—but I hold myself responsible for the result of this patchwork performance—*errors included*. I make this last remark for the special benefit of a bilious biblio whose triple *alias* leaves his real name uncertain; whose chief enjoyment in life consists in a microscopic anatomy of typographical errors; indeed, he is never happy unless he is miserable. His melancholy countenance is strongly suggestive of the fact that he was weaned before he was ready. When he graduated from *leather* to literature, he marked the epoch by the conversion of a possibly honest F into a doubtful Greek ϕ, and his translation of the shoemaker's motto—
>
> "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*"
>
> is, When you *do* get something to do, "make it *last*." The Odell Catalogue occupied three *years* of the valuable (?) time of this pretentious individual. The present catalogue, from the time I undertook its completion till its final delivery to the public, has occupied three *weeks*.

[6] He was secretary of the company from January, 1855, to May, 1858; secretary and treasurer from May, 1858, to February, 1875; secretary from the latter date till February, 1878.

City directories list him at 274 Lexington Avenue in 1860-1861; 113 West 42nd Street in 1862-1864; 80 West 45th Street in 1865-1867; 108 West 45th Street in 1868-1875; 14 East 75th Street in 1876-1877; Madison Avenue and 52nd Street in 1878; 411 West 73rd Street in 1879-1881.

The library is described on pages 451-454 of Dr. Wynne's *Private Libraries of New York* (1860).

I hope the expense of its production will not exhaust three-fifths of the proceeds of the sale. If I have gone out of my way in thus noticing the man with the triple *alias*, it is simply because he has invited a response; and I am even—*for the present.*

JOSEPH SABIN,
64 *Nassau Street, N. Y.*

May 12, 1880.

P.S.—If further information in regard to any of the books is needed, I shall be happy to afford it to any inquiring *Friend.*

Sabin's "three-fifths of the proceeds of the sale" may have been based on his experience with paying bills for catalogues; it may have been the calculation of an outside financial expert; or it may have been something else. No matter what, if you take the six thousand, five-hundred-odd dollars accepted as the gross for the Odell sale, three-fifths would be something like three thousand, nine hundred dollars. If only we had the cost-accounting figures of Sears and Cole of 51 Maiden Lane, we should have an instructive example of printing costs in the late seventies to set over against the cost for cataloguing.

The next ten years tell us little about Philes. There are one or two bits not wholly without significance, however. In 1888 A. D. F. Randolph & Company brought out Wendell Prime's *Fifteenth Century Bibles: a study in Bibliography* (94, vii[i] pp. 8vo). In one of the copies in The New York Public Library is a manuscript note: "George P. Philes told me (Dec. 11th, 1888) that he was part author of this book, and that only 150 copies were printed. P. L. Ford." Type display does seem to show something of Philes' handiwork. Just how much he did must come from Prime or Philes or Ford.

About this time Philes came in touch with Mr. Walter R. Benjamin, the well-known dealer in manuscripts and autographs and publisher of *The Collector*, a monthly trade paper somewhat similar to the *Philobiblion*. In *The Collector* (II [February, 1889], 96), Mr. Benjamin gleefully told about a new venture:

The Collector will contain hereafter lists of rare and valuable books. I would call attention to the list published in this number [but the list seems to have escaped the binder in the copy used here]. It is probable that I shall shortly introduce a rare-book literary department, and this will lead to the enlargement of the magazine, as I do not intend to cut down the space devoted to autographs. The rare-book department will be of as high an order as the autograph articles. I have received very many letters of congratulation on the excellence of the magazine from all parts of the country. All articles in The Collector are paid for at liberal rates. I should now be pleased to receive articles on old books, missals, etc.

The Collector is now written by autograph collectors, and I propose to have the book department written by book collectors. I don't think this peculiar way of running a magazine has ever been tried before. It certainly brings the magazine very closely to the hearts of all collectors.

It was Philes who dangled before the eyes of Walter Benjamin the allurements of thus joining books with autographs, and Mr. Benjamin told me before his death how well he recalled the optimistic, even the guaranteed, assurances of undoubted success thus laid before him.

Two months ran their course, and the picture of the new venture is thus set forth in the April issue of the same year (II, 128):

In the February number of The Collector I stated that I should soon introduce a rare-book department into the magazine.

The reason of this was that Mr. George P. Philes, an acknowledged authority and expert in that line (see his extended biography in Appleton's Dictionary), had come to me and offered his services as assistant.

He wrote one or two articles and said that he knew where he could pick up some valuable Americana in Philadelphia and Baltimore if I would furnish the money. I readily consented to do this, and on January 26th gave Mr. Philes a check for $100 to start with. This was on Saturday, and he said he would leave for Philadelphia early Monday morning.

As the February Collector was about coming out he gave me three advertisements of some fine books, which he said he possessed—the New England Primer and others—to publish in The Collector in order to start off well. The books were to be sent me during the week, as he said he did not expect to be gone more than four or five days. He has now been gone something over two months, and I have not heard from him in that

time. A letter to his Brooklyn address, 158 Washington Avenue, has brought no reply, and I have been unable to find him in this city.

I do not pretend to account for this, but simply state facts. I should be glad of any information regarding Mr. Philes' whereabouts. In the meantime the book-department languishes, and I am richer in experience, though poorer for the present by $100, for which I have a cancelled check and a receipt to show.

If Philes replied, his words have escaped the best searching I could give. Other than this Benjamin affair he seems to have done little worth talking about in the late eighties, but in the early nineties his name is connected in the book trade with the catalogue of the Brayton Ives collection sold in March, 1891. The title of the sales catalogue runs: *Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts Belonging to Mr. Brayton Ives of New-York.* New-York . . . Printed at the De Vinne Press, 1891. 317 (1), (319)-327 pp., 5 pl. 8vo.

One hundred copies were printed on Holland paper in December, 1890. The ordinary edition came from the same plates with title: *Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Manuscripts belonging to Mr. Brayton Ives of New York . . . To be disposed of by auction . . . March 5, 1891, and following days . . . at the American Art Galleries . . . Thos E. Kirby, auctioneer.*

It is no strain on imagination to see Philes' hand in the type ornaments, display of blackface, capitals, italic, initial letters, and other typographic devices that seem to hark back to the days of Harrisse and the Odell catalogue.

Various works are credited to Philes by Mrs. St. John which are apparently overlooked by the ordinary book-trade entries or library catalogues. For instance, she says that he "prepared an elaborate catalogue of the 'Cervantes literature Collection,' presented to Lenox Library by Rev. Wendell Prime, 1899." We cannot deny his work on such a catalogue, to be sure. Records of the Lenox Library tell that the collection was given to it in 1894 —not 1899—but the only catalogue of it printed by the Lenox

Library was the short-title list made by Wilberforce Eames soon after its receipt.

So, too, she makes him author of "Monograph on the first English Bible printed in America: A Bibliographical Essay," including an account of rare, early American editions of the New Testament, illustrated with facsimiles, Philadelphia, 1892. Fifteen copies were printed for private distribution. He wrote also, she says, an account of the "First American Edition of the Book of Common Prayer," published in Philadelphia in 1892.

Both titles have escaped me. They mark, however, his removal to Philadelphia; and the first brings up his connection with one of the famous titles of our book trade and book traditions. Would that we could find that monograph on the first English Bible printed in this country, just 15 copies, no more, no less, run off in Philadelphia in 1892, illustrated with facsimiles. Would that Mrs. St. John had talked to him more about this book and had passed her recollections on to us. She gives no more details, however; says nothing about the authorities he relied on nor what was the history of the book. He knew about it. That was enough.

Would that we could learn how he found his copy of the Bible printed at Boston in 1752 with London imprint of Mark Baskett. Had he read how Isaiah Thomas told in his *History of Printing in America* (1810) that the Boston printers had brought out a Bible, but had used the London imprint to dodge the restrictions of printing the Bible to the Basketts in London and the two university presses? Thomas never saw a copy; writes about it as common talk of the shop of his day; says Governor Hancock "possessed a copy of this impression," adding that the edition was not large, seven or eight hundred copies (all based on hearsay). No copy had been seen until this turned up in this Part VI of the McKee sale in New York.

Thomas Jefferson McKee was a New York City lawyer with the book collecting instinct. It took nine sales between November, 1900, and April, 1906, to sell the 8,990 lots in his collec-

tion; drama in wide fields, manuscript and printed, being perhaps the largest part. There was also a goodly showing of typical Americana and of standard English authors. Part VI, lot 4714, sold on May 18, 1902, was a Bible in English, with imprint of London, Mark Baskett, 1752. The entry said it is "4to, in the original binding." It failed to say that the Psalter that preceded the Bible and the title page of the New Testament were lacking, but that when the sheets were put into this "original binding" the last page of the Apocrypha in this book in its "original" binding carried plainly an offset from the New Testament. Offsets like this seem usually to show the finger of Father Time. How this page could have taken this offset when the binder sewed and cased and covered the sheets all fresh from the press room is a puzzle I can not solve.

The catalogue note said it gave us here "the only known copy of the original issue of the first Bible ever printed in America in the English language, and the Foundation Stone for all collections of American Bibles. The reasons for making so strong a statement as the one above can, here, be briefly summarized."

Philes comes on the stage now because he sold the Bible to McKee. Where, when, or how he got it I know not. Philes as earliest-known owner must go back to Mr. John Anderson, Jr., the auctioneer, with whom I talked at his home in Brooklyn in 1930. He was sure that McKee told him that Philes sold the book to McKee ten years or so before the auction. Is there any connection between the 1902 date of the auction sale and Mrs. St. John's tale of the Philes monograph on the Bible limited to 15 copies? Mr. Anderson did not recall his asking Philes where he had got it, nor had he any suggestions as to other firsthand sources to turn to. Of his complete belief—nay, conviction—that the McKee Bible had really been printed in Boston in 1752 I had no doubt then nor have I now.

Against the Anderson position we must set the equally firm conviction of Dr. Charles L. Nichols, of Worcester, Massachu-

setts, that the volume with the imprint of Mark Baskett at London in 1752 was really printed in London in 1763 and that some time later the imprint date had been changed.

The McKee copy went to George D. Smith at the 1902 sale. He sold it to Mr. George C. Thomas of Philadelphia, and in 1910 it was advertised for sale in the catalogue of George H. Richmond after Mr. Thomas' death. Whether it was sold by Richmond as his property or on consignment from the Thomas estate is not clear. In 1913 and again in 1917 it was listed in the catalogues of the Rosenbach Company. Dr. Rosenbach came to doubt it, withdrew it from sale, and in 1931 gave it to The New York Public Library.

Then and there I laid the 1752 copy and a Bible printed by Mark Baskett at London in 1761 before an alert and intelligent foreman of a pressroom, saying nothing more than to ask him to take his time, study the two, and tell me which followed the other. He came back with a puzzled look on his face, saying he was sure that the 1752 copy was off the press later than the 1761, willing to stake his life on it, and quite unable to reconcile the printed pages with the dates. "There must be some mistake somewhere, but I can't explain it." Another printer took up the study and independently came to the same conclusion. He noted how the paper stock of the title-page showed signs of wear near the bottom, indicating erasure at some time for some purpose. The Psalter that had preceded the Bible was missing, so, too, the title-page of the New Testament. His study of the volume showed clearly that the signature containing the title-page had been taken out; original ink had been erased from the bottom; the date changed from the original to 1752; the whole then darkened with skill or aged by staining with tea or coffee, and then put into what looks like eighteenth-century leather covers, a bit of work calling for his admiration as a printer and binder.

He saw how the title-page for the New Testament, now missing, had been in the volume long enough for offsetting on the

last page of II Maccabees, quite plain, but alas! not clear enough to show the imprint offset. Strange, is it not, a pity, too, that this page stayed with its fellows long enough for offsetting, but had to disappear with no damage to the pages before or after, they all being still in perfect condition?

At the Library we photographed title-pages of 1752, 1761, 1763 copies and then set one above the other. The first two did not match; 1752 on top of 1763 matched perfectly from top to bottom, from right to left—except for the date. Hold the 1752 print to the light and it is no severe strain to see how the rule above the date in 1763 ran out to a point just below the first "o" in "of"; to see how the cross lines of the original X have been transformed into II, and in the photograph of 1752 copy show clearly III under the "ns" of "Assigns." Other details quite plain to the eye of the printer stand out clearly, too plainly to leave any doubt.

Thomas Baskett printed a Bible at Oxford in 1761, Mark Baskett printed one in London that same year; neither can be mistaken for the Mark Baskett of 1763. This latter is identical with the McKee copy in every way except in the latter part of the imprint date line.

Philes was still in Philadelphia as late as 1898, when "Penn" (William Perrine) pictured him in the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* (clipping from his column "Men and Things," issue of May 31, 1898, given to me by Mr. John Anderson, Jr.). Almost three columns sing the praises of Philes and his feats at arms.

> His delicate Greek face, even in his advancing years, behind his quaint spectacles, is the impress of intellectual alertness in old age. The most placid of philosophers, he is also the most scrupulous of critics. The most charitable of men in his scrutiny of the weaknesses of the literary character, he was once known in New York as the literary constable in detecting many a plagiarist, humbug or pretender.
>
> I could tell you not a little of his attainments in classic lore and foreign literature, of his relations to the bookworms of old Nassau street, and of

the extent of his varied researches in Europe and the United States since the days when he left college. [No name of the "college."] But I know that if he were aware at this moment that I was writing a word about his personality he would rush at once to me and insist that I should not thrust him into public notice. . .

There was a time when a bibliographer in this country was looked upon simply as a memorizer of title pages or compiler of lists, and this notion of the calling is still by no means uncommon. But when Mr. Philes pronounces judgment on a book of the past, he knows not simply all that may be of value on its pages, but all that is worth knowing as to its author, its history, its typography, its editions and its relations to other books. His memory in this respect is one of the very best I have ever seen. More than this, he has that punctilious sense of accuracy which shrinks from the slightest misstatement, even if it involves only an inconsequential letter or comma. A slovenly made quotation, a piece of lying rhetoric, an assumption of superior authority on the part of some light waisted popinjay aping the role of a man of letters, and all the tricks of the charlatans of literature encounter anything but agreeable treatment when he applies to them his calm, but illuminative, searchlight. It is this love of strict adherence to fact and truth which he carried into his bibliographical work with an old-fashioned zeal which few men, however honest, would have the patience to emulate. . . ."

"Penn" then goes on to speak of the sale of the Gutenberg Bible for £4,000 in the Ashburnham sale and contrasts it with the price of $14,800 brought by the Ives copy sold to James W. Ellsworth. He speaks of Ives and continues:

The catalogue of this extraordinary sale will long be an object of interest. It is a book of more than three hundred pages, describing the collection, and is profoundly annotated. No better specimen of cataloguing as an art has ever been put to press in the United States, and I was pleased to learn recently that it was one of the products of Mr. Philes's bibliographical editing, showing the same fine typographic taste, the same care with texts and the same informing comment which distinguishes his "Philobiblion," a periodical published by him many years ago on the choicest India paper, and even now a pleasure to the eye. The typographical resources of "The Bulletin's" composing-room do not enable me to reproduce as I would like to do, some specimens of the scholastic diligence which entered into the preparation of this catalogue—the Greek, Latin,

Middle-Age Latin, Old French and Spanish title pages, and quotations minutely reproduced, the judicious notes and explanations, and the clever use of type for bringing before the reader the physiognomy of a book. It is a pity that the catalogues of our great libraries, so far, at least, as rare and valuable books are concerned are not prepared with the same ample knowledge of their subject matter and the same explanatory comment for the guidance of the uninformed or the saving of the time of all who may have occasion to consult them. . . .

But what a lifetime in the absorption of tens of thousands of books had to be spent to equip the bibliographer who prepared this masterpiece of cataloguing!

On the whole, it seems safe to admit that "Penn" admired Philes.

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach remembered Philes well in the Philadelphia stay. It was but natural for Philes to drop in to Moses Polock's shop. "Dr. R." in his delightful *Books and Bidders* opens with a picture of the two old men talking of Poe and other authors. He came to note the stranger not only because he, too, showed he understood "books and bidders," but also because his hands shook so steadily, and because the ever-present cigar went out so frequently as to call for a box of matches per cigar. It is easy to picture the two old fellows, each insisting that the other was wrong about that "and" with a turned letter on page 9 of the first issue of the first edition. No doubt that the man knew books when "Dr. R." says he did. He was slightly over medium height, spare, with black eyes, swarthy or sallow complexion, sometimes wearing a beard, sometimes a moustache. Dr. Rosenbach, Mr. A. Edward Newton, and Mr. Ernest Dressel North agree that he had the suggestion or air and bearing of a foreigner.

Why did he forsake New York for Philadelphia? I know not. Paul Leicester Ford's note in the Prime pamphlet indicates that he was in New York in 1888. Mr. Newton thinks he was in Philadelphia in the early nineties. Some friends think that he felt Philadelphia would be free from annoying subpoenas or sum-

monses issued in New York. Why, I can not say, nor how long he lived in the Quaker City. His mother died in Ithaca in 1894, and the notice of her death in the Ithaca *Daily Journal* of December 17, 1894, places him in Philadelphia. He seems to have gone back to Ithaca about the turn of the century, living with his two older sisters till his death.

Miss Katharine Dame, chief of the Reference Division of the St. Paul (Minnesota) Public Library, came to know him soon after she began work in the Cornell University Library in August, 1900, and thinks he must have come back to Ithaca the next year or so. She wrote to me (January 6, 1930):

> I was never very well acquainted with Mr. Philes but he interested me as the most typical old book-worm I had ever known. He might have stepped out of a story-book.
>
> When I knew Mr. Philes, he was an old man, with hands that trembled with age. He had retired from active life [in 1900 he would have been 72 years old] and was living in Ithaca with his two sisters, both older than he. It was his delight to go to the Cornell University Library and talk by the hour with Mr. G. W. Harris, the librarian, about book rarities and bibliographical curiosities. Mr. Harris was bored to extinction but he curbed his impatience, hoping that, if treated with sympathetic interest, Mr. Philes might present some valuable books to the library.
>
> Another habit of Mr. Philes was to frequent rummage sales, hoping to pick up some old or unusual books. He told me that he wished he might have the privilege of going through the attics of Ithaca residents, as he was sure he could find book treasures in this way.
>
> Mr. Philes hated winter. I was told that when cold weather began he would hibernate. He would take to his bed for the winter, letting his sisters, both near the age of ninety, carry his meals upstairs to him. I do not know who told me this tale and I cannot vouch for its authenticity. He also hated exercise and found a quarter of a mile a day quite sufficient. He cited to me in this connection the example of the early New England worthies who lived to a green old age without any exercise at all.
>
> I was thrown quite intimately with Mr. Philes once for a week or so. It was in connection with the library of old Dr. Sinnott, then rector of the Episcopal Church in Ithaca. Dr. Sinnott, foreseeing that he would not live much longer, wished to sell his private library and he asked Mr.

Philes to make a sale catalog of it. This Mr. Philes was glad to undertake but, on account of the unsteadiness of his hands, he needed help. So I agreed to work with him. This work had to be done evenings, as I was occupied during the day. We arranged to meet at Dr. Sinnott's house each evening until the work was completed. It was rather an amusing incident and a sign of the punctuality of both of us that evening after evening we arrived at the doorstep on the same instant.

Mr. Philes evidently regarded me simply as an amanuensis. Although I was a graduate of a library school and had had a year's experience in difficult cataloguing at Cornell University, it seemed never to occur to him that I was able to catalogue independently. He dictated each entry as though I was a mere schoolgirl. In the intervals he chattered about books to Dr. Sinnott so that the work took longer than was really necessary. But the conversations (or monologues) were interesting.

One day, at the Cornell University Library, Mr. Philes told me an incident connected with a book which he had either published or printed, I cannot remember which. So great was his pride of accuracy that he offered a money prize to anyone who would discover a typographical error in the book. "How did it come out?" I asked. "It never came out at all," he replied, "for no error was ever found."

Dr. Rosenbach and Mrs. St. John join in testimony to his interest in people, equaled only by interest in books. According to Mrs. St. John, few of the literary lights of the time had failed to be his intimates. Poe and George Bancroft, the Duyckinck brothers and William Cullen Bryant, William Winter and William Dean Howells, Richard Grant White—all and almost countless others were acquaintances if not intimate friends. It does seem a bit disconcerting to find his name left out of the indexes to the biographies or other memorials of those great men.

Clemenceau, for instance, is said to have been a frequent caller in the bookshop, so intimate an acquaintance that Philes told Mrs. St. John that he bought the Clemenceau "library when he returned to Paris at the close of the Civil War" (*Publishers' Weekly*, LXXXV, 409). Is it unkind to remind oneself that the constituted authorities do not date Clemenceau's visit to this country until after our Civil War? It certainly is a matter of re-

gret that he makes no mention of Philes or of other booksellers in the letters he wrote from this side to *Le Temps* while with us in 1865 to 1870.[7] When printed sources failed, I turned to a friend who put me in touch with Madame Jacquemaire-Clemenceau, daughter of The Tiger, asking what the Clemenceau manuscripts had to say about Philes. She wrote in reply (February 24, 1931): "C'est moi qui ai rangé les papiers de mon père. Il en avait brulé lui-même la plus grande partie. Pas trace ni dans mon souvenir, ni dans la réalité, de ce qui est recherché. Vous pouvez faire cette réponse négative avec une parfaite sécurité."

(Success in tracing this connection between Philes and The Tiger seems as fugitive a jade as when I tried to find just when Clemenceau was on the staff of the Astor Library. There is no entry for him on the payroll of the Astor Library during 1865-1870. To be sure, the Library did get from him a copy of his doctoral thesis, *De la génération des éléments anatomiques* [Paris, Baillière et fils, 1865], bearing his note: "Presented to the Astor Library. New York, May 8th, 1867. By Dr. George Clemenceau.")

Mrs. St. John also tells of the close and intimate way he knew such collectors as Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow and James Lenox, Brayton Ives and Andrew J. Odell, Hamilton Cole and John Russell Bartlett. Harrisse does mention Philes, as noted before, but that passage fits ill with Mrs. St. John's statement that "Of Henry Harrisse, the Frenchman, who returned to Paris in 1869, 'discouraged at the treatment of his work received in America,' G.P.P. never ceased to talk. . . . The rarity of the books which G.P.P. and Harrisse jointly described and enjoyed browsing over together, firmly cemented their friendship."

She tells about some of his literary relics, "which even if their

[7] Translated into English and published at New York by the Dial Press in 1928 with the title *American Reconstruction, 1865-1870, and the Impeachment of President Johnson*. Edited with an Introduction by Fernand Baldensperger ... Translated by Margaret MacVeagh.

authenticity lacks a link or two in the chain of proof, are interwoven with bits of fascinating history." One was his copy of *Les Essais de Michel Seigneur de Montaigne*, printed at Rouen in 1614, which he was sure had belonged to Molière, this because at the top of the third or fourth page there showed J.B.P. (certainly none other than Jean-Baptiste Poquelin). Philes bought the book at the sale of the library of the late John L. Appleton at Anderson's in February, 1902, for about seven dollars. He had heard of the book early in his New York City life, owned by M. Picot, master of a well-known French school in the city in the early fifties. Appleton and Philes came to know Picot well, and heard him say that he had bought the book in Paris from members of the Molière family, and that Appleton bought the volume about 1860. Philes waited patiently for some forty years, and was rewarded by getting the book at the Appleton sale. Here, however, something more was needed than unshaken belief and firm conviction. He was never able to prove the connection, but went to his grave, we hear, backing his belief against the doubting or questioning world. Unfortunately he knew nothing about the sheet of Molière's handwriting discovered in 1867.

Another treasure was an oddly shaped copper kettle which had come to him through John Allan (not Allen), and was certainly Robert Burns's toddy kettle. Mrs. St. John believed it went to Philes because of the help he gave to the catalogue of the Allan auction sale. Evert Duyckinck wrote a *Memorial of John Allan* for the Bradford Club in 1864 and on page 35 states that "voluntary assistance" to the cataloguing "was also rendered by others of Mr. Allan's friends." Joseph Sabin is named on the title-page as compiler of the catalogue, and one is inclined to wonder when and why the friendship between Sabin and Philes weakened enough to urge Sabin to show his love in 1880 as he did in his preface to the Griswold sale. The catalogue of the Allan sale certainly notes a toddy ladle with inscription that it had belonged to Burns and was presented to Allan in 1857. Mrs.

J. V. L. Pruyn, of Albany, bought the ladle for $110, and Philes seems to have been happy in his belief that his kettle was a companion to the ladle.

One more sigh of regret came to him in connection with a copy of Poe's *The Raven and Other Poems* (New York, 1845), sold at the Rufus W. Griswold sale in 1859 as lot 1989. In this volume the *Tales* was bound with the poem, and both had manuscript corrections in Poe's own hand, probably notes for a new edition. From Poe it went to Griswold, his editor, who wrote on one of the blank leaves "R. W. Griswold. Poe's own copy." Mrs. St. John says that Philes told her he lent it to James Lorimer Graham, who died before he returned it. (Graham, second librarian of The Century Association, died in 1876, and his library went to The Century in December, 1892, as a "posthumous gift.") Mrs. St. John quotes Philes' note about it written in the Griswold catalogue:

> This unique Poe volume which of late years has acquired considerable notoriety among Poe editors as the "James Lorimer Graham Copy," which is now in the possession of the Century Club of New York City, really and legitimately belongs to George P. Philes, who purchased it at the Griswold sale, Thursday, May 26, 1859, for the munificent sum of fifty cents. This fact is abundantly confirmed by a copy of Griswold's Catalogue with the prices and names of buyers, which is now before me. The Poe volume will be found on page 95, No. 1989, with the price paid for the book and the name, Mr. Philes, as the buyer on the margin.[8]

[8] On the 24th of December, 1941, Dr. Thomas Ollive Mabbott, President of "The Edgar Allan Poe Society, Inc.," wrote me:

"I. Philes at one time owned the Lorimer Graham copy of Poe's Raven and Tales in one volume, 1845, and wrote his signature in it. See my forthcoming introduction to the facsimile of the Raven, Facs. Text Soc., 1942, p. xix. (Page proofs are before me.)

"II. Philes had a collection of clippings about Poe, which I saw in the auction room about 15 or 20 years ago. As I recall it they included,

"A. The clipping about the date of death of Poe's father, mentioned in my introduction to the Facs. Text. Soc. Tamerlane (1941), p. xxviii-xxix. I seem to be the "authority" for this; as Woodberry is gone, and nobody seems to know who has the clippings.

"B. I will not swear to it, but my memory is pretty definite that he also had the clipping about Poe registering to study law in Philadelphia. Quinn rather dismisses

As to the catalogue of the Griswold sale, Mr. George L. McKay lists it (*American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713-1934, A Union List.* The New York Public Library, 1937) on page 94, number 808, locating copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public Library, Columbia University, Grolier Club, Harvard University, the Huntington Library, The New York Public Library, and Yale University.

The New York Public Library copy is priced, but without names. The price there listed is $.50. It will be cheering news when a copy turns up with names of buyers.

Dr. Otto Kinkeldey wrote me (January 14, 1942) that "none of Mrs. St. John's books came to the Cornell University Library, so far as I can learn, aside from the Wordsworth Collection."

Mrs. St. John reports also that "At the opening of Cornell University, President White sent G.P.P. to London to purchase books for the University Library. The two gentlemen had been friends, if we remember correctly, from Homer Academy days —whither G.P.P. followed a favorite German teacher for a short period. Homer, N. Y., was Dr. White's native village."

Cornell records are silent as to this mission, nor does White mention Philes in his autobiography. The evidence is merely negative, but it may likewise be true that Philes helped White and Cornell—as has been suggested to me by a Cornell man who knew them both—more by clearing importations through the customhouse in New York than by actual buying in Europe. And the "favorite German teacher" may perhaps refer to the

---

the idea because Miss Phillips in publishing the information added her own idea that Poe registered at the University of Pennsylvania. As a matter of fact he could not have registered at the University, for they had no law school in operation at the time. BUT there was nothing about the university in the clipping, which I saw, and told the old lady about it, and it was natural enough for Poe to register to study law with Henry B. Hirst—and of course drop it after he read a few pages of Blackstone. See Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe,* 1941, p. 386; Phillips, *Poe the Man,* pp. 289, 627, 838. Quinn gives only the first reference, but the last is the only one which is clear, and from which I told her and from what she added from her own head is clear. I saw the clipping, and am pretty sure of where it is."

"Classical Institute of Dr. Augustus Maasberg, Göttingen" noted earlier in connection with his early education.

There is no doubt, however, that he knew books, and that they played an important part in his life. Mrs. St. John tells (as above) that

> His memory of books was simply marvellous. Once handling a book he never forgot it, neither its size, color or contents. I have never gone to him with an English catalogue of second-hand books, or one of the auction catalogues in this country and asked about a book that he hadn't read and wasn't able to describe.
>
> We cannot conceive a human being who loved books more than he did. They were his life. It was pathetic at the last, during many lonely hours, when eyes were rapidly failing and articulation becoming difficult and dulled to come upon him handling, turning this page or that, of a loved book he could not clearly see.

The end came on September 11, 1913, and he was buried in Ithaca where he first saw the light eighty-five years before. From first to last he was a bookman, and as a bookman it is fitting to recall him. Typical of his time and generation? A model for ourselves and our children? With a record to hold up with pride and satisfaction?

That, gentle reader, is for you to say. Which tells most about a man, his deeds or his words?

Robert Scott, Restoration Stationer and Importer

By Leona Rostenberg*

ALTHOUGH English stationers had begun the importation of books from the Continent as early as 1479 and continued this practise through the sixteenth century, it was not until 1628 that the first catalogue of foreign books was published. From St. Anne's, Blackfriars, Master Henry Featherstone issued a catalogue announcing the sale of books published in diverse parts of Italy. Featherstone's literary innovation was repeated a few years later by the bookseller Robert Martin, who printed four catalogues of books imported from abroad, specifically from Rome and Venice. The apparent success of these ventures prompted George Thomason to offer in 1637 and 1647 two collections of books purchased in Italy, while Octavian Pulleyn circulated in 1657 a list of various foreign items. The most distinguished of the catalogues containing continental books was published in 1674 by Robert Scott of Little Britain, whose great collection remains one of the most coveted of seventeenth-century bibliophilic works.[1]

* I wish to express my thanks to Mr. R. T. Rivington, Clerk of the Stationers' Company, London, for his permission to examine the manuscript records at Stationers' Hall. I also wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. R. A. Wilson, Deputy Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum; Mr. W. L. Hoyle, Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, British Museum; and Mr. R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford, for their kind help in placing relevant material at my disposal.

[1] Henry R. Plomer, "The Importation of Books into England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" in *The Library* (London, 1923), IV, 2; *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1940), II, 97 *(CBEL)*; *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475-1640* (London, 1946), 10837, 17512, 17513, 17514, 17515, 4789; Donald G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland 1641-1700* (New York, 1945-51), T995, P4201, S2078.

The career of Robert Scott had been launched in 1648, when, as a young apprentice, he served the London Company of Stationers. His activity was to span his century, marking him as one of the outstanding members of his craft: notable as a publisher, agent of the foremost of university presses, importer and bookseller to His Majesty The King, a zealous participant of his guild and a friend of the Restoration *literati.*

Scott was regarded by his contemporaries as "the greatest librarian in Europe, an expert bookseller and a conscientious good man, the only person of his time for his extraordinary knowledge in books." Hailed by Dunton as "grave Scott," he had earned neither the encomium of his prolific colleague nor the tributes of his literary associates, when, at the age of fifteen, he arrived in London from York, the great episcopal seat of the north.[2] There Scott had been born about 1633, the son of Arthur Scott, a city clerk. In 1648 he began his London apprenticeship at the Red Bull in Little Britain, under Daniel Frere, a publisher of *facetiae* and popular works. Scott completed his service after the customary eight years and was admitted to the freedom of the Stationers' Company, March 31, 1656, sponsored by his late employer and William Wells, who was to become his future partner.[3]

Obscurity veils young Scott's activity from 1656 to 1663, when he appears to have entered partnership with Wells. The first publication of this new firm was in all likelihood the *Works*

[2] The Hon. Roger North, *The Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North ... The Hon. Sir Dudley North* (London, 1826), III, 293; *Catalogus Librorum Roberti Scott, Bibliopolae Regii Londiniensis* (London, 1687/88), Preface; John Dunton, *The Life and Errors* (London, 1818), 269.

[3] For a general sketch of Scott, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922), 264 f. The date of Scott's birth is based upon his date of apprenticeship, 1648, which he entered approximately at the age of fifteen; see *Apprentices Turned Over Free and Cloathed 1640* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); *Apprentices Register Book 1605 to 1666* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London). For Frere, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 78. For Scott's admission to the freedom of the Stationers' Company, see *The Register of Freemen,* March 31, 1656 (MS, Stationers' Hall, London).

of Virgil. At the Princes Arms in Little Britain, Scott and Wells continued in partnership until 1672. During this time they issued an approximate total of ten books, largely of a theological character, with the exceptions of the *De Scorbuto Liber* of the English physician, Walter Charleton, and *The Imperial Tragedy*, written anonymously by William Killigrew and advertised as having been composed "by a gentleman for his own Diversion."[4]

Wells died in January 1672/73, and after his interment at St. Botolph's, Scott continued as publisher, bookseller and importer at the Princes Arms until about 1706. During these odd thirty-four years he issued alone, or in association with some of the large combines of London stationers, some fifty-seven books. In contrast to the prodigious activity of many of his colleagues, that of Scott is meagre. Although his imprints are relatively few, they reveal a marked catholicity of taste and cover a variety of fields. From the Princes Arms emerged the *Works* of Archimedes, Cervantes' *History of the Valorous and Witty Knight Errant Don Quixote of Mancha*, *A New System of Mathematicks* by Sir Jonas Moore, surveyor-general, the popular *Pharmaceutice Rationes* of the London physician, Thomas Willis, published in quarto and octavo for large and small purses, and the *Observations on Roman Antiquities* by the Dutch scholar, Isaac Voss. As an associate of such prominent stationers as Richard Chiswell, Benjamin Tooke, Matthew Gilliflower and others, Scott sponsored editions of Evelyn's *Silva*, Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia*, the *Works* of Richard Hooker, classical and theological treatises, and John

[4] For Wells, see Plomer, *Dictionary, 1641-1667*, 191; imprints of Scott and Wells: (a) Virgil, *Opera* (1663), Wing V601; (b) Isaac Vossius, *In Supplementum vulgaris Grammatices* (1664), in *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers. From 1640-1708 A.D.* (London, 1913), II, 353 (henceforth designated as *Transcript*); (c) William Killigrew, *The Imperial Tragedy* (1669), Wing K460; (d) John Durel, *Sanctae Ecclesiae Anglicanae aduersus Iniquias ... Criminationes* (1669), D2694; (e) George Bull, *Harmonia Apostolica* (1670), B5417; (f) Walter Charleton, *De Scorbuto Liber* (1672), C3669; (g) Matthew Scrivener, *Apologia pro S. Ecclesiae Patribus adversus Joannem Dallaeum* (1672), S2116; (h) John Pearson, *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii Autore* (1672), P1010; (i) John Marsham, *Canon Aegyptiacus* (1672), M810; (j) John Durel, *Historia Rituum Sanctae Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (1672), D2687.

Powell's *Assize of Bread: with sundry good and needful ordinances for Bakers, Brewers,* offered to the London housewife in February 1684.[5]

Scott was an exacting and careful publisher. He sought the greatest accuracy in the execution of his texts, displayed a certain discrimination in the selection of material and kept a watchful eye against the inroads of piracy. As agent of the Oxford University Press, he assured its arch-patron, Bishop Fell, of his most faithful service, averring that in the execution of his Lordship's commands, "there shall nott bee any care wanting in mee for them."[6] In this capacity he viewed askance the Press's edition of the *De Consensu Veteris et Nova Philosophiae* of the French scientist, Jean-Baptiste Du Hamel, which he censured as "scarce Intelligible" since the Oxford printer, Hall, had issued it "soe false" that he (Scott) would be "loathe to committ further Councells to these men's printing." His edition of John Hacket's *A Century of Sermons* included a folio sheet of errata for which he sought the reader's indulgence, since, during its composition, he had been "absent from the press."[7]

In February 1676, Scott decided to publish the *Works* of Bishop Selden in four volumes. He had purchased the "proprietary and rights of all copies" and sought from the king "a license for the sole printing of the said works with a prohibition to all others of printing, importing or vending any copies of the same for 20 years." The license was granted Scott with a provision forbidding the importation "for 20 years of any of them reprinted abroad without the said Scott's consent." Despite this conscientious procedure, "grave Scott" never published any of

[5] The approximate estimate of Scott's imprints from 1672 to 1706 is based upon Wing, *op. cit.*, Arber, *op. cit.*, and announcements in *The London Gazette;* see Wing A3621, C1777, M2579; Arber I, 172; *The London Gazette*, no. 1985, November 24, 1684; Arber III, 516; Wing C1830; H2632-33; P3060.

[6] Scott to Fell, August 26, 1670 (MS, Rawl. D398, f. 124, Bodleian Library, Oxford); Scott to Fell, January 16, 1670; Scott to Samuel Clarke, October 29, 1668, both reproduced in Horace Hart, *Notes on a Century of Typography at the University Press, Oxford 1693-1794* (Oxford, 1900), 156, 155.

[7] Wing, *op. cit.*, D2496, H169.

Bishop Selden's writings. Fully aware of the piratical practices of many of their esteemed and less esteemed colleagues, Scott and Henry Herringman of the Blue Anchor protected themselves in 1682, having received from the "Commonalty of the Mistery of Stationers" the right "to prosecute at law any person or persons that have imprinted or sold any book or coppy of or belonging to them or either of them."[8]

As a careful and zealous master, Scott chose to pursue his trade at the Princes Arms in Little Britain. Here in close proximity to such prominent dealers as Samuel Mearne, Moses Pitt, Samuel Buckley and Robert Littlebury, he established himself in one of the most thriving centers of the trade, described by a contemporary as "a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors [where] the shops were spacious and the learned gladly resorted to them." Here, "the booksellers were knowing and conversible with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse."[9]

At the Princes Arms the customer found a "knowing" proprietor, familiar with Greek, and his young apprentices less conversant with an ancient tongue and less experienced with the complexities of the trade. Scott's first apprentice was Samuel Parr, son of a London barber, who served the firm from 1669 to 1677, during which period Scott began the training of Peter Hills, son of a colleague, Henry. In 1684 Charles Hoffman was bound to Scott for the customary term of eight years. A fourth apprentice, the only one of Scott's boys to continue in the trade was Benjamin Walford, the later well-known auctioneer at the Bear in Ave-Mary Lane, who was eventually to dispose of his master's stock.[10]

[8] *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. March 1, 1675-February 29, 1676*, 542; *Court Book Liber E from 1674-7 August 1682* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London).

[9] North, *op. cit.*, III, 290.

[10] *Apprentices Register Books, 1666 to 1727*, August 2, 1669, November 2, 1674, December 3, 1684 (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); for Walford, see Plomer, *Dictionary, 1668-1725*, 298.

Many of the books displayed to customers by Scott or his apprentices had already been made known to them through advertising media, *The London Gazette* and the *Mercurius Librarius*. The *Works* of Virgil, edited by Thomas Farnaby, had been announced as "printed on Fair Paper and Good Character," while the clever publisher advertised Jean Durel's version of the Liturgy in French for the exiled Huguenot. The 19th edition of Chamberlayne's *Angliae Notitia* was to appear "with great additions and improvements."[11]

The average price of a Scott imprint ranged from a shilling to one pound, fifteen. Classics and literature sold at about two shillings per item. A sewn copy of Killigrew's *Imperial Tragedy* fetched a shilling, while the *Orations* of Cicero, the *Satires* of Juvenal and Lucian's *Dialogues* averaged about one-and-six respectively. The scientific-minded were compelled to pay more for their particular addiction than their literary associates, and could purchase either the quarto or octavo edition of Willis's *Pharmaceutice Rationes* at seven or two shillings bound. Though a calf copy of Charleton's *De Scorbuto Liber* brought two shillings bound, Moore's *New System of Mathematicks* was priced at one pound, ten. Theology varied from two to thirty shillings. In his association with the Oxford University Press, Scott marketed one of the great theological publications of the seventeenth century: the *Pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum* of the Reverend Dr. William Beveridge, selling at three pounds, ten. Printed in double columns on 1,588 pages in two folio volumes in Greek, Latin and Arabic, the book was the first to have been printed in the Sheldonian Theatre, its publication having been originally assigned to Scott.[12]

[11] *The London Gazette*, no. 1191, May 7, 1677; no. 1243, October 15, 1677; Arber, *op. cit.*, III, 148.

[12] Killigrew, *The Imperial Tragedy* (1669) "sticht 1s.," Arber I, 110; Cicero, *Orationum selectarum liber* (1675) Bd., 1s. 6d., Arber I, 222; Juvenal & Persius, *Satyrae* (1675) Bd., 1s., Arber I, 222; Lucian, *Dialogii* (1677) Bd., 2s., Arber I, 261; Willis, *Pharmaceutice Rationes* (1674) 4to, 7s., 8vo, 2s. 6d., Arber I, 172; Charleton, *De Scorbuto Liber Singularis* (1672) Bd., 2s. 6d., Arber I, 89; Moore,

This notable production, along with other Scott imprints, could be obtained from the sagacious proprietor of the Princes Arms in Little Britain. Scott's clientèle included a variety of notables of singular eminence and singular talents. For His Majesty, Charles II, King of England, Scott had purchased books "out of Monsr. Montmore's Library in Paris, most of the French historians, etc. all of ye Royal paper & richly bound, wch his Majtie bought of mee with great pleasure." Among his customers of less regal stature were the indefatigable scientist Robert Hooke, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Hoskins, President of the Royal Society, and Sir Joseph Williamson, the diplomat, whom Scott had charged fourteen shillings for the repair of eleven chained bindings. Others included the Earl of Conway, John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, Sir William Temple, English ambassador to the United Provinces, and Richard Pearson, Under Keeper of the Royal Library at St. James's and boarder at the Princes Arms.[13]

Among his most select patrons ranked the esteemed Samuel Pepys. "Without flattery," Scott assured Pepys, "I love to find a rare book for yu." As attestation of this deep devotion, Scott procured not only a rare book but several for his revered customer. In 1688 he reported the purchase of the *History of Ireland* by Campion

(wch I think yu formerly desired). I here send it yu with a very scarce book viz. Pricaei defensio Hist. Britt. 4to. and old Hardings Chronicle, as also ye old ship of fooles in old verse by Alex. Berkley priest, wch last,

A New Systeme of the Mathematicks (1681) 35s., Arber I, 432; Durel, *Sanctae Ecclesiae Anglicanae adversus Iniquias. ... Criminationes* (1669) Bd., 8s., Arber I, 28; Hacket, *A Century of Sermons* (1675) Bd., 1.10., Arber I, 203; Pearson, *Vindiciae Epistolarum S. Ignatii* (1672) Bd., 8s., Arber I, 105; Beveridge, *Συνοδικον sive Pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum* (1672), £3, 10s., Arber I, 112.

[13] Scott to William Sancroft, n.d. (MS, Tanner, 314, f. 94r., Bodleian Library, Oxford): Scott alludes to the sale of the Library of Pierre de Montmaur, the celebrated French wit; Henry W. Robinson & Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke* (London, 1935), 89, 118, 347; George Ornsby, ed., *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D. Lord Bishop of Durham* (London, 1869), II, 218; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, January to November 1671*, 456; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1848), I, 148.

though not scarce, yett so very fayre and perfect, yt seldome comes such another, ye Priceus yu will find deare, yett I never sold it under 10s. I hope shortly to procure for yu a perfect Hall's Chronicle.[14]

Having borrowed Evelyn's copy of Bartoli's *Colonna Trajana* and having it unskillfully washed, Pepys sought restitution for his friend and searched the book market for another copy. He assured Evelyn that he determined to make amends

by the first fair copy I could meet withall. I have not been able to this day to lay my eye upon either fair or foul, saving one that I have very lately met with at Scott's, greatly imperfect, as wholly wanting the historicall explications referred to the whole by the figures from the plates, Sir Peter Lilly (whose book it was) contenting himselfe with so much of it.[15]

As one of Pepys's many stationers, Scott had enjoyed as early as 1681 an intimate relationship with the future Secretary of the Admiralty. Eager to promote the circulation of Sir Jonas Moore's *A New Systeme of Mathematicks*, which he had recently published, Scott informed Pepys of an ambitious scheme devised by him with the help of the surgeon, Sir Charles Scarburgh. "Knowing [the book] to bee soo excellent," and convinced, "yt itt would bee a portion to each boy [at Christ's Hospital] to have one when they went to sea," Sir Charles and Master Scott petitioned the intervention of their sea-minded friend Pepys and the financial aid of the benevolent London merchant, Daniel Colwall, "a good charitable person and a great esteemer of Sir Jonas Moore who may be perswaded to give annually such a number of bookes as need requires." It was the opinion of Scarburgh and Scott that Pepys could easily convince the London

[14] Scott to Pepys, June 30, 1688 (MS, Rawlinson A179, Bodleian Library, Oxford); Edmund Campion, *History of Ireland* (1633); John Price, *Historiae Brytannicae defensio* (1573); John Hardynge, *The Chronicle* (1543); Sebastian Brant, *The present boke named the shyp of foly ... transl. by Alex. Barclay* (1500, 1567); Edward Halle, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families York and Lancaster* (1542).

[15] Pepys to Evelyn, March 28, 1692, in Joseph R. Tanner, ed., *Further Correspondence of Samuel Pepys 1662-1679* (London, 1929), 58.

merchant "to this generous action." It is not known whether Pepys's oratory moved Mr. Colwall sufficiently to purchase annually from Scott's stock *A New Systeme of Mathematicks*, but it is clear that his bookseller did not hesitate to trouble his "most honored friend Samuel Pepys."[16]

In a less enterprising spirit Master Scott occasionally repaired with a customer to one of the popular coffeehouses, Child's or The Bear in Cock Lane, where Hooke refused him the loan of a quadrant but permitted him the examination of his manuscript of the *History* of Diogenes Laertius. In a more sombre mood, Scott traveled to Oxford to the sick chamber of the visiting Dutch professor, Isaac Voss, "who was then not well and kept his bed."[17]

It is quite possible that Scott's intimacy with many of the most distinguished in Restoration political and cultural circles brought him the enviable position of the first London agent of the newly reorganized Oxford University Press. Scott's association with this venerable institution is of considerable interest, since it reveals his position as an honored and established member of his craft and throws light upon the intricate details of seventeenth-century book production.

In 1663 the Reverend Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, recently appointed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, gave to his alma mater one thousand pounds which he was to increase fifteenfold for the erection of a theatre named in his honor. Although the primary object of this building was to provide a center for the ceremonial acts of the University, it was also to house a press. In July, 1669, with another patron of the newly reorganized Oxford University Press, Bishop Fell, in the Vice-Chancellor's

[16] Scott to Pepys, November 4, 1681, "For my honored friend Samuel Pepys Esq. at Mr. Euers house in York Buildings in the Strand pr Penny Post Paid." (MS, Rawlinson A183, Bodleian Library, Oxford). Daniel Colwall, d. 1690, was Treasurer of the Royal Society; Sir Charles Scarburgh, 1616-94, was an outstanding London surgeon. Pepys refers to them repeatedly in his *Diary:* see Henry B. Wheatley, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (New York, 1893), I, 108, 577, 578; II, 728, 843, 948.

[17] Robinson and Adams, *op. cit.*, 90; Hart, *op. cit.*, 156.

throne, and presiding over a vast and hushed audience, the Sheldonian Theatre was finally opened. In the presence of an august company, the registrar read the original provisions of the donor's bequest:

> When you have purchased the Lands, what every year be remaining of the Rents, over and above the charge of the Repayres, I desire may be employed for the advantage and encouragement of the Learned Press there designed and already sett at worke, which I pray God prosper.

The "Learned Press" was now installed in the recently constructed "sellar" which, according to the distinguished Oxford biographer, Anthony à Wood, was

> divided into three parts, the south side . . . a press room or place to print books in, the north for the drying and gathering of printed books, and other uses of imprimery and the middle for the storage of paper. Upon the floor of the Theatre and under the galleries encircling it are set the cases for the Compositors and studies made for Correctors, as also other places to contain other matters.[18]

It appears that Scott had been appointed the Press's London agent prior to the first meeting of the delegates, September 10, 1668. The principal promoters of the new project were Sir Leoline Jenkins, Principal of Jesus College; Sir Thomas Yate, Principal of Brasenose; Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, and the diplomat, Sir Joseph Williamson, associate of Queens College and customer of Scott. At the first meeting of the delegates, the problems of the proposed publication of the *Pandects* of the Reverend Dr. William Beveridge provided involved discussion. It was decided that Scott supervise publication of the work, borrowing from the University the "Letters and other Utensilles necessary for ye printing . . . in Greek and Latin." It was further determined that Scott "bear all Charges about ye Impression of ye said Bookes in such Manner as shall be for the

[18] For the earlier history of the Oxford University Press, see Falconer Madan, "The Oxford Press 1650-75," in *The Library* (London, 1925), VI, 2; Strickland Gibson and John Johnson, *The First Minute Book of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press 1668-1756* (Oxford, 1943), xii.

Honour of ye University." As a connoisseur of exotic letters, it was undoubtedly Dr. Fell who prolonged the meeting with a detailed discussion of the types to be used.

> Mr. Scott [is] to provide 400 Weight of such Greek Letter and a third part of ye said Weight of such Latin Letters and 400 Weight of a smaller Latin Letter as is exemplifyed in certain patterns sent to Mr. Vice Chancellor êxhibited to the said Delegats.[19]

Scott hastily communicated his superiors' demands to the London letter founder Joseph Leigh who, he reported, was willing to comply in "all yt ye University hath desired and will shortley give mee some letters wch shall bee as a standard for ye metall." Leigh's type proved to be satisfactory and he was paid sixty pounds for the founts of Greek letters "upon Mr. Scott's security." From France, Scott imported Dele, a compositor, who in time grew lax and brought censure from his employer and Dr. Fell.[20]

Scott spent the following six months in the preparation and composition of the text. He approved the Greek type and decided upon the use of "Italica for ye text, the comment[aries] in Roman." In March 1668/69, however, Scott informed the delegates that by "reason of his occasions to goe beyond ye seas," he was compelled to abandon further personal supervision of the publication. He, nevertheless, agreed to retain considerable interest in the work and was prepared to provide "all ye power and assigning for security ye whole Impression to ye University, till what soe he expended, be by him reimbursed to ye University." The delegates complied with Scott's proposals and the printing was completed at Oxford, while, when in London, their enterprising agent continued to offer suggestions and help.[21]

[19] John Johnson and Strickland Gibson, *Print and Privilege at Oxford to the year 1700* (Oxford, 1946), 48; Gibson and Johnson, *op. cit.*, 3-4; Hart, *op. cit.*, 155.

[20] Hart, *op. cit.*, 155; Scott to Fell, August 26, 1670 (MS, Rawlinson D398, f. 124, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

[21] Gibson and Johnson, *op. cit.*, 5.

Despite the advancement of press production, in January, 1670, the publishers were confronted with the customary delays on the part of the author and compositor. While Dele grew negligent and indifferent to his task, Scott impatiently awaited an additional thirty sheets from Beveridge. Dejectedly, he informed Fell: "They cannot goe on with ye notes until they have cast a Syriack [type] wch will bee a tedious business." Annoyed with the postponement of the venture, he added:

> I had rather buy about 30 Syriack letters of Mr. Lee, at my own charge, than to stay a month longer for such a number of letters will serve my turne and will cost mee butt about 10s and can have them sent downe in a dayes time.

The following November, Scott reported to Dr. Fell that he had received a copy of the "Canons of ye large paper wch . . . I hope will bee no disparagement to the University."[22]

The financial arrangement for the printing of the *Pandects* is of interest. Samuel Clarke, the distinguished Orientalist and editor of the text, received 100 pounds; Hall, the printer, was paid 200 pounds, while Leigh, the letter founder, as previously noted, submitted an invoice for sixty pounds. The University lent Scott 200 pounds, which was to be repaid at twenty pounds per month, while the whole impression was given by him as security for the loan. It appears that Scott was still in arrears to the University in 1675, when he reported to Yate: "I will certeynly pay ye remaynder of ye first bond as also the second bond, of this Sir, yu may certeynly rely."[23]

Beveridge's great work, announced in a 25-line prospectus, the first Sheldonian specimen of color printing, was finally completed in 1672. It contained a brief preface in Latin and Greek addressed to the Reverend Lord Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, by his most humble servant Robert Scott. It was

[22] Scott to Fell, January 16, 1670; November 14, 1670, in Hart, *op. cit.*, 156.

[23] (Rawlinson MS D317, folios 279, 280, 286; Scott to Yate, September 25, 1675, Rawlinson MS D397, f. 346.)

the great generosity of His Grace in "cujus Laribus, Theatro nimirum illo" which had made the work possible. Wishing the success of the new press in a building to which none could bear comparison either in beauty or magnificence, the Master of the Princes Arms invoked the future welfare of the recently founded imprimery at Oxford.[24]

In conjunction with the Oxford Press, Scott published and sold during the following decades the *Dictionarium Historicum* of Charles Estienne, the *Icones et Descriptiones rariorum Plantarum Siciliae* of Paul Boccone, the Palernian botanist, the *De Poematum Cantu* of his friend Isaac Voss, and Richard Allestry's *Forty Sermons*.[25]

With the death of Fell and the decline of the Press, its equipment and building were leased in 1693 to the London Company of Stationers. Scott, with an odd sixty-five of his guildsmen, contracted with its representatives to create "a special stock" within their own Company. The London stationers agreed "to print Books and papers and to use printing presses in the said Universyte of Oxford in full ample and Beneficial Manner."[26]

In his capacity as agent of the Oxford Press, Scott disposed of its publications in London and likewise sold to faculty members books from stock or imported from abroad. In 1672 he sponsored the sale of Lily's *Grammatical Institutes*, informing Dr. Yate that he had communicated with one of the wardens of the

[24] Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books* (Oxford, 1895), III, 2961; William Beveridge, *Συνοδικον sive Pandectae Canonum SS. Apostolorum et Conciliorum* (Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano sumptibus Guilielmi Wells & Roberti Scott Bibliop., M.D.C.LXX.II), Scott to Sheldon: "Quin & alio nomine Clementiae Vestrae debetur hoc opus, in cujus Laribus, Theatro nimirum illo, quo nihil pulchrius uspiam, nihil magnificentius ... succedat deinceps, praelo obstetricante, longe ordine S.S. patruum Doctorum, scriptorumque, omnis generis erudita cohors, aeternitatem suam Sheldoniano, homini pariter sacro, pariter aeterno acceptam referus ... servum Humillimum et Obsequio Omni Devinctissimum Rob. Scott."

[25] Wing, *op. cit.*, E3347 attributes publication of Estienne's work to William Downing, *The London Gazette*, no. 525, November 24, 1670, assigns its distribution to Wells & Scott; Madan, *Oxford Books*, 3003; Wing B3385; Madan, *op. cit.*, 2991; Wing V699, A1114.

[26] Johnson and Gibson, *op. cit.*, 181 ff.

Stationers' Company regarding the matter and assured him, "As soon as my Ld Maiors Day is over care shall be taken in yt business." Since the Oxford stationers believed that Scott and his London colleagues planned to undersell the work, he had informed Yate at an earlier period:

I have never pretended to have them cheaper than yr booksellers at Oxon had them and therefore do much wonder yt Mr. Hall should conceave ye contrary & whattsoever of them shall be sent up I shall take care to pay as they did.[27]

In October 1668, Scott sold a collection of exotic Bibles and philological works to Samuel Clarke, having imported for him copies of the Bomberg edition of the *Old Testament*, the Buxtorf Bible and the six-volume Polyglot Bible, selling at five pounds, three pounds, ten, and fifteen pounds, respectively. At the same time Clarke purchased Thomas Erpenius' *Arabic Grammar*, his edition in Arabic of the *New Testament* and his Arabic primer, paying for the three items sixteen shillings. Clarke was likewise informed that Scott was preparing a list of books for the distinguished astronomer and collector, Edward Bernard. In an informal note to Dr. Fell, Scott chatted about the scholar's recently published text of the *De Natura Hominis Liber* of the Christian scholar, Nemesius, stating that he knew of

above five editions (of the work) yt wch yu mention, another in one of yr gr. & lat. volumes of yr Bibliotheca, printed long time since in gk; one also in Latin and one printed in English about 20 years since.[28]

[27] Scott to Yate, October 26, 1672; Scott to Yate, October 22, 1672 (MS, Rawlinson D397); William Lily, *Brevissima Institutio seu Rationes Grammatices* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1672), Madan, *Oxford Books*, 2929.

[28] Scott to Clarke, October 29, 1668 (MS, Rawlinson D398, Bodleian Library, Oxford); [*The Old Testament in Hebrew*] (Venice, Bomberg, 1517, 1521, 1525-28), Ioannes Buxtorf, *Concordiantiae Bibliorum* (Basle, 1632), *Biblia Hebraica* (Leyden, 1610-15), 6 vols., Thomas Erpenius, *Arabicae Linguae Tyrocinium* (Leyden, 1656), *Novum D.N. Iesu Christi Testamentum Arabice. Edente Thoma Erpenio* (Leyden, Ex Typographia Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium, 1616), Thomas Erpenius, *Grammatica Arabica* (Leyden, 1656). Scott to Fell, August 26, 1670 (MS, Rawlinson D398, Bodleian Library, Oxford); Nemesius, *De Natura Hominis Liber* (Lyons, Gryphius, 1538; Antwerp, Plantin, 1565), Margaranus de La Bigne, *Bibliothecae veterum patrum* (Paris, 1609), VIII, *Magna Bibliotheca*

Among the University invoices is an entry for "books sent down by Mr. Scott for the library £174.0.0."[29]

Scott's activities as academic purveyor were not limited to Oxford. In 1677 he attempted to sell a large collection of books and manuscripts to the University but the procrastination of the authorities prompted him to offer the material elsewhere. According to Scott's version, he had submitted the collection "on approval" to the University's library committee, Dr. Theophilus Gale and Thomas Smith, who, apparently, much impressed with its content, suggested that "[I] send ye catalogue and with itt my lowest price by lettr, yt both may be considered by ye university." Informing the Reverend Dr. William Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, of the proposed negotiation, Scott wrote:

> I have sent ye Catalogue by Mr. Hart's waggon and as for the price, though I humbly conceave I might both with reason . . . modestly demand 600 lb. for them, yett I shall let ye university have them for 500 lb. wch is ye lowest price I shall sell them for and if ye university shall either dislike ye bookes or ye price I begg yr favore yt my catalogue may be returned mee againe and what passes in this business may be kept as secrett as ye affaire will admitt & I hope they are assured yt I have faithfully kept my promise to yr Bishop of Chester in offering ye refusall of them to ye University of Cambridge.[30]

Despite his promise to the Bishop of Chester, Scott submitted a list of the material to Cambridge for its consideration, since he had found the response at Oxford too dilatory and wished a quick turnover. Accordingly, he informed Dr. Thomas Page, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, that he had shown his manuscripts to

> ye persons appointed by ye University of Cambridge and being desired by them to send my Catalogue and with it my lowest price by letter to ye University wch I did accordingly . . . and although I have nott yett heard their answer, yett hearing by some yt ye university had nott money and

Veterum Patrum (Paris, 1654), XII, Oxford, Sheldonian Theatre, 1671, *The Nature of Man . . . Englished by George Wither* (London, 1636, 1657).

[29] (MS, Rawlinson D317, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

[30] Scott to Sancroft, 1677 (MS, Tanner, 158, f. 192, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

by others yt they are very coole in this business, it will putt mee upon a resolution (though contrary to my inclination) of preparing for the disposal of them beyound sea as soon as I shall receave ye refusall of ye university.

Although Cambridge appeared completely "coole in this business," Scott apparently did not offer the material "beyound sea," but acted upon the suggestion of the Reverend Dr. William Beveridge, who proposed the purchase of the collection through subscription.

Mr. Beveridge coming to mee fryday and himselfe telling me yt hee heard Cambridge would be backward in this affaire, did think of proposing itt to some of the clergy of Lond[on] and some other cittizens also, of buying these MSS for Syon College Library, & dyning with my Ld Mayor, hee mentioned itt to him, who answered hee would not bee wanting to contribute something towards itt and Mr. Sherlocke being there, said hee would undertake for 20 lb. towards itt and Mr. Beveridge will undertake for as much.

In conclusion, Scott reported that he believed "ye whole summe will easily be collected" and enclosed for the Vice-Chancellor a list of subscribers who could raise an immediate down payment of 300 pounds. The donors suggested by Beveridge and Scott included the Reverend Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London (40 pounds), Sir Thomas Davies, Lord Mayor and his Court of Aldermen (50 pounds), fifty clergymen of the "Citty of London" (100 pounds), the reverend gentlemen Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, Dr. Layfield, Dr. Francis Turner and Dr. William Sherlocke (together 50 pounds), Mr. Giffard and the merchant Sir John Cutler (each 20 pounds), and "two or three others."[31] There is no proof that this enterprising plan brought the much-coveted material from the premises of the Princes Arms to the hungry shelves of the Sion College Library. According to the printed records of Sion College, no purchase of books and manuscripts from Scott is listed. Among its subscriptions to the "fin-

[31] Scott to Page, October 22, 1677 (MS, Tanner 158, f. 93, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

ishing of the College buildings" and its "almes" is cited the name of a Mr. Scott. Is it possible that Robert Scott, stationer of London, mindful of some future remuneration, donated three pounds to Sion College?[32]

As a London publisher and agent of the Oxford University Press, Scott had become a leading member of his craft. Although his reputation as "the greatest librarian in Europe" had been founded upon the accuracy of his publications, his ability and academic association, it was also based upon his successful activity as an importer and retailer of foreign works. Of the extant Scott imprints none fills the reader with greater nostalgia than his splendid *Catalogue* of 1674 and his smaller trade list of 1687. Both recall the well-stocked shelves of the Princes Arms, where the Master whetted the appetite of the browser with his splendid assortment of "Livres del Historie," "Libri Italici," or "Libri Iuridici." To the Restoration reader Scott brought a variety of volumes, in folio and quarto, in vellum and calf, from the presses of Leyden and Venice, Paris and Basle, Lyons, Rome, Mainz and Louvain, Cologne and Salamanca.[33]

Scott was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the largest buyers of books from the Continent, obtaining his stock at "great expense from most parts of the learned world." As an importer of foreign works, Scott made frequent trips abroad to replenish his shelves and to purchase particular desiderata for favored customers. As previously noted, he had found it necessary to curtail his personal supervision of the publication of Beveridge's *Pandects*, since he had "occasion to goe beyond ye seas." It may

[32] See E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge, 1913); *Bibliothecae Cleri Londinensis in Collegio Sionensi Catalogus* (London, 1924), 23 f.

[33] The *CBEL*, II, 98, lists three catalogues of foreign books issued by Scott, 1664, 1674, and 1687. According to a communication from R. A. Wilson, Esq., Deputy Keeper, Dept. of Printed Books, British Museum, no Catalogue was issued in 1664. Wing, *op. cit.*, cites 3 catalogues published by Scott, 1674, 1677, and 1687, S2078, S2079, S2080, allocating the 1677 to Bodleian Library, Oxford, which, according to L. W. Hanson, Esq., Keeper of Printed Books, Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a ghost, originating from a typographical error and confirmed as such in a letter from Dr. Wing.

have been during this trip that he obtained in France and Holland for John Cosin, Bishop of Durham, "a great many books among them. . . . Albertus Magnus in 21 voll., the Byzantine History in 10 or 17 voll., Scotus in 13 voll., Panormitan in 5 voll. and Tractatus Tractatuum in 28 voll."[34]

The rôle of the importer was not always a smooth one. Scott endured many of the annoyances attendant upon the contemporary dealer and fretted at the delays in foreign shipments. In August, 1670, he wrote impatiently to Viscount Conway:

> I am waiting for some books from France, as I could not procure all that were required in London, but if they do not arrive soon I will send what I have.

At a later date, he petitioned the Viscount for the prompt settlement of an outstanding invoice since he was "to go beyond sea the week after Easter."[35]

Although Scott was a loyal Stuart and a conscientious member of his guild, he was summoned in September 1692 "before the next General Court [of the Stationers' Company] to answer several complaints against him . . . for importing of severall books into this Kingdom contrary to Law."[36]

In 1680 the great library of the celebrated sixteenth-century French bibliophile, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, was offered for sale. Scott immediately considered its purchase, having heard from a Parisian correspondent that 20,000 French crowns had already been offered for it. In a confidential note to Dr. William Sancroft he assured the divine that it was worth much more and that he had been

[34] Ornsby, *op. cit.*, II, 218; Albertus Magnus, *Opera* (Lyons, 1651), 21 vols.; *Corpus Byzantinae historiae* (Paris, 1647-70), 18 vols.; Duns (Ioannes) Scotus, *Opera Omnia* (Lyons, 1639), 12 vols.; Nicolaus de Tudechis, *Lectura super quinque Libros Decretalium* (Basle, 1477), 5 vols.; *Tractatus Tractatuum*?

[35] Scott to Earl of Conway, August 4, 1670, in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1670*, 384; Scott to Earl of Conway, March 28, 1683, in *ibid., January 1-June 30, 1683*, 138.

[36] *Court Book, 1683-97*, f. 178, September 5, 1692 (MS, Stationers' Hall, London).

imployd to view itt by my Ld Chancellor Hyde. [I] shall bee very happy (if I cannot purchase itt myself) to bee assisting in buying itt for his Matie or any other publick place in England, or if itt should bee sold by auction I make noe question but to bee master of the best bookes in itt and though I believe it noe convenient tyme to mention the purchase of this Library to his Matie, yett hee will the sooner give his com[m]ands and for my paymt wch will enable mee to goe on wth courage about these books.

There is no indication that Charles II, disturbed by domestic and foreign embarrassments, gave "his commands." Scott may have attended the great auction sale of De Thou's library, begun March 22, 1680, but he apparently failed to outbid the successful limits placed upon the majority of the manuscripts and books by Jean Baptiste Colbert, Minister of Finance to His Majesty, Louis XIV.[37]

A frequent visitor to the French and Dutch markets, Scott likewise attended the Frankfurt Fairs and there, as in Paris, he retained an agent and a warehouse. In London he found it necessary to rent space for the storage of his foreign merchandise and in 1681 he leased a magazine in the garden next to the City Hall, paying an annual rental of five pounds.[38]

Although the majority of Scott's stock came from foreign markets, he occasionally augmented his inventory by direct purchase from local dealers, representation at auction and trade contacts. A year after the death of the late "Printer to the Royal Society," John Martyn of the Bell, his widow Sarah, in November 1681, disposed of her husband's stock. She sold to Scott 361 works largely of a scientific, historical and literary content. Scott was not completely satisfied with his purchase and intimated that he had been deceived regarding the value of the books. He complained before the General Court of the Stationers' Company that many of the works were "of little or noe value and not about

[37] Scott to Sancroft, n.d. (MS, Tanner, 314, f. 94r. Bodleian Library, Oxford). For the De Thou sale, see Henry Harrisse, "Les de Thou et Leur Célèbre Bibliothèque 1573-1680-1789" in *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (Paris, 1903), IX.

[38] North, *op. cit.*, III, 290. *Order Book, Liber E, 1674-1683, 6 March 1681* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London).

twenty of them worth the entring." He agreed to register the titles with the Company, if the Court would "sette a lower rate than usuall (in regard they were soo numerous)." His colleagues agreed and ordered that "they shall be entered in the Register Book . . . for the said Mr. Robert Scott for fifty shillings." Scott registered the 361 titles on August 21, 1683, and though he belittled the value of the lot, he had acquired many significant volumes pertinent to the new science: a complete run of the *Philosophical Transactions*, several treatises by the Bolognese physiologist, Marcello Malpighi, Hooke's *Micrographia*, *Cometa*, *Lampas* and *Philosophical Collections*, Willoughby's *Ornithologia*, Wallis's *Discourse of Gravitation*, Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, the botanical contributions of Dr. John Ray and other works by Fellows of the Royal Society.[39]

Although Scott does not appear to have personally attended the first of the great London book auctions, the sale of Dr. Lazarus Seaman in Coxes Court, he was represented by Hooke who purchased, among other items, a copy of Richard Blackburne's *Disputatio medica*.[40]

In 1678 Scott extended his business interests to the field of literary appraisal and hereby was afforded an enviable opportunity to purchase estates unknown to the general trade. During the year he had been requested to evaluate the collection of 336 manuscripts bequeathed by the antiquary, John Theyer, to his grandson who had unsuccessfully negotiated for their sale with the patrons of the Bodleian Library. Scott appraised the collection at 814 pounds, 12 shillings, eventually purchasing the entire bequest and cleverly outbidding two rival offers. In 1685, he and Robert Littlebury, a close associate at the Kings Arms in Little Britain, evaluated the estate of the late Dr. Edmund

[39] *Transcript*, III, 181-190; *Order Book, Liber E, 1674-1683* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); see also Leona Rostenberg, "John Martyn, 'Printer to the Royal Society,'" PAPERS (1952), XLVI, 30 f.

[40] Robinson and Adams, *op. cit.*, 255.

Castell, the great Semitic scholar. Together they appraised the

> Bibles and other Oriental parts of Holy Scripture (30 folio volumes amongst which was the Polyglott Bible, the interlineary Bible of Arias Montanus, those of Buxtorf, Castalio, Luther's Dutch Bible, Tindale's English translation, etc.) at £20 which also included 140 octavos, a Turkish and Ethiopic New Testament estimated at £11. 6s. 8d. . . . valued and appraised what books were given to my Lord of London including 100 Lexicons compleat at £242. 10s.[41]

Scott's stock, obtained at home and abroad, was made available to the consumer at his premises in Little Britain. Here the avid reader might browse and select. For the equally enthusiastic but more remote collector, the Master of the Princes Arms listed his foreign books in his trade catalogues. In them he offered an infinite variety "brought from various parts in Europe": limited and first editions, anonyma and pseudonyma, the rare and the old, illustrated texts and current best sellers.

Scott's great *Catalogue* of 1674 was advertised in *The London Gazette* of May 14, copies of which could be obtained from the publisher for 3s. 6d. A quarto volume of 206 pages, this comprehensive collection numbers approximately 6,474 works, arranged according to author and including title and format, with a frequent indication of place and date of publication. It is divided into 63 groups, listing an odd 4,876 books in Latin and the remainder in French, Italian and Spanish. The largest section refers to theology with specific categories: editions of the Bible, commentaries, concilia, patrology, theological writings and mysticism. Works by Greek authors number 484, while medicine is represented by 372 contributions of the classical, medieval, Renaissance and contemporary schools. History, arranged according to national groups: Greek, Italian, French, Flemish, English, German and Spanish, totals 325 works. For the London gallant

[41] *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Ioannis Theyer* (MS, Add. 6414, The British Museum); John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812), IV, 28.

the *Catalogue* offered a fairly wide selection of French novels: the romances of Messieurs de Scudéry, Préchac and Urfé or such delectable tidbits as the *Sentimens d'Amour*, *Les Pourtraits de la Cour*, *Cléon ou le parfait Confident*. Italian books include history, political theory, natural science, ballistics and the popular "novelle." Works in Spanish are represented by the writings of Cervantes, Quevedo, Sandoval and Vida, and bear the imprints of Madrid, Malaga, Seville, Salamanca and Alcalá. The devotee of the new science found modern research in the fields of medicine, natural history, chemistry and physics in the treatises of Malpighi, De Graaf, Glauber, Steno, Guericke and others. Although the *Catalogue* comprises books largely by continental writers, it lists, likewise, works by Englishmen: William of Ockham, Duns Scotus, Thomas Bradwardine, Harvey, Charleton, Burnet, Boyle, Hobbes and others. Scott was fully cognizant of the contributions of his countrymen and carried a full line of current Royal Society publications.[42]

Although the 1674 *Catalogue* is not priced, Hooke's *Diary* throws some light upon the retail prices of several of these foreign imports. The most expensive item cited by Hooke is a copy of De Chales's *Cursus Mathematicus* at four pounds, whereas a Vitruvius cost two pounds, fifteen. For copies of Pardies' *Mechanics*, Schooten's *Miscellanies* and Biringuccio's *Pyrotechnia*, the distinguished physicist paid three, six and two shillings, respectively. The *Trigonometria* and *Exercitationes geometricae* of his colleagues, Oughtred and James Gregory, cost two and four shillings each. Hooke's journal notes other miscellaneous purchases made at the Princes Arms including a set of prints entitled *The Dancing Master's View* at ten shillings, copies of a Poliphilus and a work by the French cosmographer Thevet. Upon occasion,

[42] *The London Gazette*, no. 886, May 14, 1674: "A Catalogue of divers Books lately brought from several parts Beyond Sea, by Robert Scot [*sic*] and sold by him at the Princes Arms in Little Britain; [Robert Scott], *Catalogus Librorum ex Variis Europae Partibus Advectorum per Robertum Scot Bibliopolam Londiniensum* (London, 1674), Wing, *op. cit.*, S2078; Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 165.

the ubiquitous bibliophile took home "on approval" a collection of "Mapps" and considered the purchase of Bartoli's *Colonna Trajana* and Redi's *Experiments*.[43]

In 1677, Scott acted as the agent for the sale of the library of the late Bishop of London, the Reverend Dr. Humphrey Henchman. The *Catalogue*, published by Scott, consists of 35 pages, including an approximate 1,300 items in Latin, French and Italian. As representative of the estate, the shrewd stationer listed for the interested bibliophile not only books of the late divine but "many other [works] lately imported from provinces across the sea and brought to Robert Scott, bookseller of London."[44]

Scott issued another retail catalogue of foreign books in 1687. It consists of 35 pages, containing an approximate 1,023 items relating to theology, jurisprudence, medicine, mathematics, philology and "Livres del Histoire" in French and a section of Italian works. The bibliographical arrangement is identical with that used in the 1674 *Catalogue*. Although this smaller list offers some new publications, it can scarcely compare with the wealth and variety of the earlier work. This slim volume, a residue of the great stock which had once belonged to Robert Scott, bookseller to His Majesty the King, indicates the status of the Master of the Princes Arms in 1687.[45]

The 1687 *Catalogue* apparently represents Scott's business

[43] Robinson and Adams, *op. cit.*, 10, 42, 45, 50, 98, 130, 165, 212, 220, 223, 347, 379; Claude-François de Chales, *Cursus Mathematicus* (Lyons, 1674); Vitruvius, *De Architectura Libri Decem* (Amsterdam, 1649); Ignace Pardies, *Deux Machines* (Paris, 1673); Franciscus à Schooten, *Exercitationes Mathematicarum Libri Quinque* (Leyden, 1657); Vannoccio Biringuccio, *De la Pirotechnia Libri X* (Venice, 1559, Rouen, 1627); William Oughtred, *Trigonometria* (London, 1657); James Gregory, *Exercitationes Geometricae* (London, 1668); Francesco Colonna, *La Hypnerotomachia di Poliphilo* (Venice, 1545); André Thevet, *Histoire des plus illustres . . . hommes* (Paris, 1671); Pietro Bartoli, *Colonna Trajana* (Rome, n.d.); Francesco Redi, *Esperienze* (Florence, 1671).

[44] *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Humphredi, Episcopi Londinensis Cum pluribus aliis nuper e Transmarinis Provinciis huc transmissis ad Robertum Scott, Bibliopolam Londinensem* (London, 1677); Wing, *op. cit.*, H1427.

[45] *Catalogus Librorum ex Variis Europae Partibus Adiectorvm apud Robertum Scott, Bibliopolam Regium* (London, 1687); Wing S2080.

assets after the disposal of the majority of his stock at auction in February 1687. On December 22, 1687, *The London Gazette* announced a forthcoming sale at the auction rooms of Benjamin Walford, the former apprentice of Robert Scott.

On Monday the 13th of February next, at the Bear in Ave Mary Lane near Ludgate Street will be sold by auction the celebrated collection of Books in Most Languages and Faculties, brought from the several parts of Europe, by Mr. Robert Scott, bookseller to His Majesty. Catalogues of which are distributed from Mr. Notts, and Mr. Halford in the Pall-Mall, Mr. Willis in King Street, Westminster, Mr. Lowndes near the Savoy, Mr. Wilkinson in Fleet Street, Mr. Chiswell in St. Paul's Church-yard, Mr. Parker near the Royal Exchange, Mr. Turner in Holborn, Mr. Benjamin Shirley in Oxford, Booksellers, Mr. Hayes in Cambridge and Mr. Adiel Mill in Amen Corner.[46]

The sale was scheduled to begin on February 13, 1687/88, and to continue "day by day the first five days of every week, till all the Books are sold, from the Hours of Nine in the Morning till Twelve, and from Two till Six in the Evening." The prospective buyer was apprised of the conditions of sale and advised that "all the Books in this Catalogue, not otherwise expressed (for ought we know) are perfect." Commissions for out-of-town bidders would be accepted by "proper and skilful agents," who could inspect the books which "will be exposed to view for one whole week before the Sale, from the Hours of Nine in the Morning to Twelve, and from Two in the Afternoon to Six." For foreign collectors and dealers, Walford issued a French edition of the *Catalogue* and included the names of continental booksellers from whom copies might be obtained: "Guillaume Fontaine of Rouen, Estienne Lucas of Paris, J.-Baptiste Verdussen of Antwerp, Fricx of Brussels, Wetstein and Mortier of Amsterdam, Arnold Leers of The Hague, Reynier Leers of Amsterdam, Van der Aa and Ribbius of Leyden, Wilhelm Freissen

[46] *The London Gazette*, no. 2300, December 22, 1687; repeated in no. 2310, January 5, 1687, no. 2314, January 19, 1687, no. 2315, January 23, 1687, no. 2318, February 6, 1687.

of Cologne and Koenig of Hamburg." Extolling Scott's business acumen, Walford remarked: "It cannot be reasonably suppos'd, when these Curiosities are Scattered and Dispers'd, that there will appear a person in their Time of so Great Ambition and Indefatigable Diligence to oblige the Lovers of Learning."[47]

The "Lovers of Learning" and their less enamored kinsmen gathered at Walford's rooms at the Sign of the Bear on February 13, 1687, for the dispersal of Scott's great stock, a

> collection of Books which hath been made at several times with great expence, from most parts of the Learned World [containing a] variety and great choice of . . . valuable and voluminous, as well as scarce and curious Books that are . . . couch't under the various Heads of this incomparable Catalogue, which considered together, cannot be equalled in most of the Shops of Europe.

The sale, comprising 25,000 volumes, offered in 8,808 lots, represented the bulk of Scott's stock and reflected a career which had spanned twenty-four active years in the world of books.[48]

Several reasons may have prompted Scott to dispose of his holdings. His immense retail business may have suffered some decline, and his advance in years may have curtailed his frequent trips abroad. According to Sir Roger North, Scott had "grown old and much worn by the multiplicity of business [and] . . . began to think of his ease and to leave off."[49]

Some time after the dispersal of his stock, Scott entered into a business agreement with the bookdealer Adiel Mill of Amen Corner, whom conservatives regarded somewhat suspiciously as a speculator. Their opinion was shortly confirmed when Mill,

[47] *Catalogus Librorum Roberti Scott Bibliopolae Regii Londinensis. In quavis Lingva & Facultate Insignium ex Variis Europae Partibus Advectorum.* Quorum Auctio habenda est Londini, ad Insigne Ursi in Vico (vulgo dicto) Ave-Mary-Lane, Prope Ludgate Street, decimo Tertio Die Februarii, 1687/8. Per Benjaminum Walford, Bibliopolam Londinensem. Conditions of Sale; John Lawler, *Book Auctions in England in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1898), 164-7; North, *op. cit.*, III, 290.

[48] *Catalogus Librorum Roberti Scott* (1687), Preface.

[49] North, *op. cit.*, III, 1293.

"through his auctioneering, atlases and projects," failed and Scott now suffered the loss of half his remaining estate. Mill entered bankruptcy and Benjamin Walford conducted another auction at the Sign of the Bear on February 9, 1690/91. In the preface to the Mill catalogue, Walford elucidated for the public the background of the present sale:

> I thought fit to advertyze you, that by an amicable composition between Mr. Adiel Mill and his creditors, all the Right that the said Mill had in this affair or stock of Books, is now devolved upon Sir William Turner, Kt. and Alderman of the City of London, Mr. William Carbonell, Merchant, and Mr. Robert Scott, Bookseller, assignees of the Commissioners in a Commission of Bankrupt awarded against the said Mill; and his sale is now made and held by the Direction and Appointment of the said Assignees for the benefit of the Creditors of the said Adiel Mill.[50]

Scott's share of the proceeds is not known. It is clear, however, that he still remained active in the trade. The last known work bearing his imprint appeared in 1706. In 1703 he had been nominated Master of the Stationers' Company in which he had played a conspicuous rôle.

Politically, Scott appears to have belonged to the conservative group of his guild which viewed askance the republican sentiments of the old Cromwellians. Bewailing contemporary corruption in the administration of the London hospitals, Scott referred to the "fractious traders . . . the old Cromwellists" and "the enemies of the government."[51]

Scott had been admitted to the Livery of the Stationers' Company on April 20, 1664. He enjoyed a highly respectable position and attended meetings regularly. In 1681, upon royal appointment, he was named to the Court of Assistants in the company of John Playford, John Bellinger, Robert Horne, John Baker and Ambrose Isted. Scott and his associates had won their preferment for their "zeal and diligence contributed to the dis-

[50] For Mill, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, *1668-1725*, 205; North, *op. cit.*, III, 290 f.; Lawler, *op. cit.*, 179.

[51] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, October 1, 1683-April 30, 1684*, 36.

covering and repressing of several exorbitant and licentious practises committed in printing much to the scandal and dishonour of the government."[52]

Scott was to bolster the royal vigilance of the press and in 1682 joined a group "to inspect and make inquiry into and about all scandalous pamphlets printed and published against the Government established and to consider of the best orders and methods for suppressing thereof." As a member of the Court of Assistants, he submitted to the government in April 1684 a list of his fellow associates "with a character of those that are or have been factious against whose names we have put a cross."[53]

Scott was doubtless a loyal Stuart and regarded the liberal and leftist element in the press with suspicion and distrust. Living in a period fraught with political tension and rent by the flyting warfare of the republican and royalist camps, Scott, a Yorkist by birth and hence monarchical by tradition, supported the Stuart régime.

Scott was a faithful attendant at the Court meetings, and mention of his loyal devotion recurs constantly in the Company's books. At the session of July 3, 1703, he was nominated as Master of the Stationers' Guild, but lost the election to Thomas Parkhurst.[54]

The last known works bearing Scott's imprint are two editions of the *Sylva* and the *Kalendarium Hortense* of Sir John Evelyn, published in 1706 in association with Richard Chiswell, George Sawbridge and Benjamin Tooke.[55]

[52] *Court Book, 1654 to 1679* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1681*, 316.

[53] *Court Book, Liber E, From 1674 to 6 November 1682* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, October 1, 1683 to April 30, 1684*, 363.

[54] For Scott's constant attendance at meetings of the Court held in Stationers' Hall, see *Court Book, Liber E, From 1674, passim; Court Book, Liber F, 1683-1697, passim, Court Book, Liber G, 1697-1717, passim* (MSS, Stationers' Hall, London).

[55] Arber, *op. cit.*, III, 516, 524, 526.

The Master of the Princes Arms was now in his seventy-third year and may have retired from his spacious shop in Little Britain to his country home, where, writes Sir Roger North, he "passed most of his time amongst his books and his reading for he was no mean scholar." In the opinion of this devoted critic Europe suffered no small loss when Master Scott abandoned his trade.[56]

Not only in the words of the respected Sir Roger, but in the retrospect of time, the world of books had lost a capable and accurate publisher, a dutiful and forthright patriot and an enthusiastic and enterprising bookdealer. The many facets of Scott's career combine to form the composite portrait of a highly successful Restoration stationer. As an importer of foreign books, Scott occupies a unique position in the annals of seventeenth-century bookselling. His association with the Oxford University Press indicates the esteem he enjoyed in academic circles and throws light upon contemporary book production. A loyal Stuart, he cannot be reprehended for his prosecution of subversive and factious associates. As a member of the Court of Assistants, Scott championed his company and his country. As a publisher and distributor of foreign texts, he served a far larger kingdom and to that domain of scholarship he opened unknown vistas to the great realms of books that lay beyond the seas and the far-away.

[56] North, *op. cit.*, III, 290.

Hawthorne and *Parley's Universal History*

By B. Bernard Cohen

ALTHOUGH *Peter Parley's Universal History on the Basis of Geography* (Boston, 1837) has been included in the Hawthorne canon for many years, the comments of critics indicate much uncertainty about it. Some have omitted mention of it; others have labelled it a composition of Hawthorne; still others have considered it a compilation or compendium; and one biographer, without presenting evidence, has claimed that it was "unquestionably Elizabeth Hawthorne's work."[1] In one instance, at least, Hawthorne and his sister have been criticized because of the religious views and the historical interpretations expressed in the volume.[2] In books and articles where the work has been discussed the same few facts are repeated, but no one has attempted to determine exactly what part Hawthorne played in the making of the *Universal History*. Such a study is complicated by several factors: because the manuscript submitted by Hawthorne to Samuel Goodrich has not survived, it is impossible to discover the extent of Goodrich's editing; incomplete evidence also makes it extremely difficult to ascertain the amount of work which Hawthorne's sister may have done on the project; and, finally, the simple and undistinguished style

[1] See, for example, Newton Arvin, *Hawthorne* (Boston, 1929); Moncure D. Conway, *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, n.d.), p. 45; Bertha Faust, *Hawthorne's Contemporaneous Reputation* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 25; Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1948), p. 33; and Robert Cantwell, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1948), p. 189.

[2] James J. Walsh, "Note as to Authorship of 'Peter Parley's Universal History'," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, XLIII (July, 1918), 519-521.

of this volume renders invalid any comparison with style in Hawthorne's later works for children. However, a careful examination of the sources and method of composition will yield an idea of just how much of the book, including the opinions and judgments expressed within it, can be safely attributed to Hawthorne. In this paper there will be no attempt to trace down every fact and opinion expressed in *Parley's Universal History*, but there will be examination of some other books published by Goodrich, of Hawthorne's reading, and of one important item in his personal library, so that the work can be placed with reasonable certainty in or out of the Hawthorne canon.

The facts associating Hawthorne with *Parley's Universal History* are definite. While he was editing *The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, he was asked by Samuel Goodrich, who had acquired the editorship for him, to prepare a universal history. On May 5, 1836, Hawthorne wrote about the project to his sister Elizabeth, who was helping him edit the magazine: "He [Goodrich] wants me to undertake a Universal History, to contain about as much matter as 50 or 60 pages of the Magazine. If you are willing to write any part of it (which I should think you might now that [it] is warm weather) I shall agree to do it. If necessary, I will come home by-and bye and concoct the plan of it with you. It need not be superior, in profundity and polish, to the muddling magazine articles."[3] A week later he wrote to his sister again: "Our pay, as Historians of the Universe, will be 100 dollars, the whole of which you may have. It is a poor compensation; yet better than the Token; because the kind of writing is so much less difficult."[4] On September 23, 1836, Goodrich wrote to Hawthorne that the "two folios of Universal History were received some days ago," and that he

[3] Quoted in Manning Hawthorne, "Nathaniel and Elizabeth Hawthorne, Editors," *Colophon*, New Graphic Series, No. 3 (Sept., 1939), [p. 40]. The best account of Hawthorne's editorship of the *American Magazine of Useful Knowledge* is Arlin Turner, ed., *Hawthorne as Editor* (University, Louisiana, 1941).

[4] Quoted in M. Hawthorne, [p. 41].

liked the history "pretty well" and would make it do.[5] Since Hawthorne was busy editing the *American Magazine of Useful Knowledge* until August, 1836, it is evident that he did not have much time to put together the history. Undoubtedly, as soon as his editorship expired, he went to Salem and worked on the history with his sister, who may have gathered materials during the summer months.

That the two could have produced a history of two volumes in such a short time is not surprising when one considers not only the methods of work but the intellectual equipment which Hawthorne brought to the task. In addition to a background knowledge of the Bible, he had had good college training in Greek and Roman history.[6] His general reading was largely made up of travel and history books, and in the history of his own country, particularly of New England, he had steeped himself thoroughly.[7] Because of his association with Goodrich, he was familiar with the publisher's books even before he started the *Universal History*.[8] Finally, as editor of the *American Magazine of Useful Knowledge*, he had handled dozens of travel and history books, and had included a large amount of material from them in the six numbers of the periodical which he edited.[9]

Even though he was well prepared for the project, Haw-

[5] Quoted in Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, 1885), I, 138.

[6] See Stewart, pp. 16-17; George Parsons Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston, 1876), pp. 338-339; and Hawthorne's own copy of Walter Biglow, *The New Latin Primer* (Boston, 1801). This book, now in the Essex Institute, has the signature "N. Hathorne" and the date 1820, and contains a brief history of Rome.

[7] See, for example, Marion Louise Kesselring, *Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850* (New York, 1949).

[8] See Turner, pp. 223-224, 269; and my articles "The Composition of Hawthorne's 'The Duston Family'," *NEQ*, XXI (June, 1948), 236-241, and "The Sources of Hawthorne's 'The Ambitious Guest'," *BPLQ*, IV (October, 1952), 221-224.

[9] For a list, see Turner, pp. 263-272. One should note that Elizabeth was well-read and was also qualified for the task of working on a universal history. See, for example, Randall Stewart, "Recollections of Hawthorne by His Sister Elizabeth," *AL*, XVI (Jan., 1945), 316-331, and Manning Hawthorne, "Aunt Ebe, Some Letters of Elizabeth M. Hawthorne," *NEQ*, XX (June, 1947), 209-231.

thorne did not think of it as a work of art or a labor of love. He recognized it as hack work, even duller than editing the magazine, and he thus treated it as a chore which would earn one hundred dollars. The method used in the creation of *Parley's Universal History* is clearly suggested in a letter of December 13, 1836, in which Goodrich, inviting Hawthorne to write a volume on "the manner[s], customs, and civilities of all countries," states his requirements: "I should want a mere compilation from books that I would furnish."[10] Although Hawthorne did not undertake this new commission, a close study of the sources of the *Universal History* offers evidence that this book was nothing more than "a mere compilation." In fact, so closely did Hawthorne follow his sources that very little of his personal stamp can be found in the history.[11]

From reading done before he and his sister prepared the volume, they were able to draw considerable information. For example, their knowledge of the Bible furnished the stories of creation, of Noah, and of the Hebrews. Certain articles previously appearing in the *American Magazine of Useful Knowledge* also afforded them assistance on such subjects as Jerusalem, the Tower of Babel, and the lives of Cromwell and General Wolfe. However, their main method was to collect an armful of Goodrich's books, add a few items from the Salem Athenaeum and Hawthorne's own library, and stick extremely close to them.

Because of Goodrich's practice of repeating the contents of his books over and over, any number of them could have served

[10] Quoted in J. Hawthorne, I, 146.

[11] Lathrop (p. 172) says that in the *Universal History* there "are various little particulars" reminiscent of Hawthorne. Cf. Henry James, *Hawthorne* (New York, 1901), pp. 36-37. In addition, it seems that the "Preface," mature in style and solicitous of "the bright and sunny landscape of the heart," may be Hawthorne's writing, as also the well-staged triumphal march of Scipio Africanus (I, 277-279) may be. The kind attitude toward American Indians is unlike the views in other Parley books and resembles Hawthorne's opinions. No doubt, also, Hawthorne's interest in the elixir of life led him to select the story of the Chinese Emperor Vati, who sought earthly immortality (I, 112)—cf. Goodrich's *The Third Book of History* (Boston, 1834), pp. 164-165. But, aside from these features of the book, very little can be accurately attributed to Hawthorne.

as sources for the Hawthornes; a careful survey of the Parley books published prior to the *History* reveals, however, that at least five of them contributed heavily to his work. Before the publication of *Parley's Universal History*, Goodrich had issued three volumes covering roughly the chronology and geography encompassed by the Hawthornes. From *The First Book of History*, many details about the United States were derived; from *The Second Book of History*, materials on Europe, Africa, and Asia; and from *The Third Book of History*, information on ancient history.[12] Even though the development of the United States is related chronologically in *Parley's Universal History*, with emphasis upon the American Revolution, *The First Book*, despite its arrangement according to states or sections of the country, contains many of the facts used by the Hawthornes. From *The Second Book* probably came such facts and stories as the following sampling: Canute's attempt to defy the waves, the death of King William Rufus, the argument of Henry I with Thomas à Becket, the story of Richard II and Wat Tyler, the death of Edward IV's brother in a barrel of wine, the Praise-God Barebones Parliament, and the peculiar fact that the poor in China subsisted on dead puppies, rats, and mice, whereas the rich consumed a delicacy made of birds' nests.[13] From *The Third Book* the Hawthornes could have taken, for example, the details for the stories of Xerxes, Cecrops, Pericles, Mutius Scaevoli, and Regulus.[14] Since bizarre facts and stories often sensational or whimsical in their appeal, rather than historically significant, are characteristic

[12] *The First Book of History* (Cincinnati, 1831); *The Second Book of History* (Boston, 1832); and *Third Book, op. cit.*

[13] Cf. *Universal History*, II, 153-154, 155-156, 156-157, 162-163, 168, 187-188, and I, 116, with *Second Book*, pp. 18, 20, 22-23, 27-28, 33, 76, 160. Salient details about the eating habits of the Chinese had appeared during Hawthorne's editorship of *The American Magazine of Useful Knowledge*, II (August, 1836), 519.

[14] Cf. *Universal History*, I, 98-101, 190, 198-200, 266-267, 272, with *Third Book*, pp. 16-17, 9, 18-19, 50, 67. Some of the engravings opposite the title page of the *Third Book* probably served as models for similar ones in the *Universal History* —an indication of the relationship between the two books. Goodrich was undoubtedly responsible for selecting engravings for the *Universal History*.

of the three Parley books, it is easy, when these same details are repeated by the Hawthornes, to detect the source of their material.

Even closer reliance upon Parley books becomes apparent when a comparison is made between *Parley's Universal History* and two of Goodrich's historical concoctions: *Peter Parley's Tales about Ancient and Modern Greece* and *Peter Parley's Tales about Ancient Rome*. Not only did the Hawthornes extract facts from these books, they also copied passages almost verbatim. Two pages in the *Universal History* on Plato, Homer, Anacreon, Pindar, and Theocritus were taken, with only minor changes, from *Parley's Tales about Greece*. Another section dealing with the dress, eating habits, entertainment, houses, and war practices of the Greeks was also lifted from the same source with slight alterations in punctuation, choice of words, and paragraphing.[15] Similarly, a long portion of about thirty-five pages in the *Universal History* came from *Parley's Tales about Rome*. This section deals with a wide variety of subjects such as the religion, marriage ceremonies, funerals, farming, military affairs, and entertainment of the Romans. Again the changes made by the Hawthornes are insignificant.[16] However, the fact that some alteration was made does indicate an attempt by the compilers to make improvements in the punctuation and expression of the material which they incorporated.

Even with such heavy dependence upon earlier Goodrich books,[17] Nathaniel and Elizabeth had to supplement these with

[15] Cf. *Peter Parley's Tales about Ancient and Modern Greece* (Boston, 1832), pp. 159-162, with *Universal History*, I, 220-221, 223-226. Some of the engravings in *Tales about Greece* (pp. 82, 87, 119, 138) were used in the *Universal History* (I, 199, 203, 227, 202).

[16] Cf. *Peter Parley's Tales about Ancient Rome* (Boston, 1833), pp. 138-168, with *Universal History*, I, 308-342. Cf. the embellishments in *Tales about Rome*, pp. 101, 130, with those in *Universal History*, I, 274, 160.

[17] Some of the many other books published by Goodrich and possibly referred to by the Hawthornes are *Blair's Outlines of Chronology, Ancient and Modern* (Boston, 1825); *Peter Parley's Method of Telling about Geography to Children* (Hartford, 1831); *A Book of Mythology* (Boston, 1832); *Peter Parley's Method of Telling about the History of the World to Children* (Hartford, 1832); and S. G. Goodrich, *A System of Universal Geography* (Boston, 1833).

other sources from the Salem Athenaeum and Hawthorne's own library. In the charge lists of the Athenaeum many books which could have been useful to them are credited to Hawthorne's account during the period when the *History* was in preparation. One in particular, Fénelon's *Lives and . . . Maxims of the Antient Philosophers*, charged out between July 5 and July 25, 1836, affords an excellent illustration of the use which the Hawthornes made of library sources.[18] From this book they drew all the material for the two short chapters (LVIII and LIX) of Book One devoted to Greek philosophers. For example, in the brief sketch of the philosopher named Bias, the Hawthornes stressed two incidents in his life: the story of the fishermen who sent to Bias a golden vase engraved with the words "To the wisest," and the sage's refusal to be concerned with riches when all the inhabitants of his city were trying to hide their wealth from invaders. Both of these anecdotes appear in Fénelon's book, as do the details about all the other philosophers mentioned in the two chapters of the *Universal History*.[19]

One of the more important supplementary sources appears to have been a five-volume work of Abbé Millot called *Elements of General History*, which in 1836 passed into Hawthorne's possession from the library of his uncle, Robert Manning. The first two volumes of *Elements* were undoubtedly kept open while Hawthorne and his sister worked on the portions of the *Universal History* dealing with Assyria, Macedonia, Greece and Rome.[20] Millot's account is so much fuller than that in Parley's *Third*

[18] Kesselring, pp. 38, 50. On June 25, 1836, Johannes von Müller's *An Universal History* (Boston, 1831-1832), vol. I, was charged to Hawthorne's account at the Salem Athenaeum (Kesselring, p. 57) and was apparently of some use to his sister and him. Since Hawthorne was probably in Boston at the time editing *The American Magazine of Useful Knowledge*, Elizabeth undoubtedly drew the books out and may have prepared the chapters on philosophers based on Fénelon's book.

[19] *The Lives and . . . Maxims of the Antient Philosophers* (London, 1726), pp. 8, 38, 44, 48-49, 69, 83-85, 91-92, 94, 101-102, 109, 118-119, 120 ff., 195, 201-202, with *Universal History*, I, 214-220.

[20] See the catalogue of Sale No. 3927, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc. (Nov. 19 and 20, 1931), p. 65, item 313. Hawthorne owned the second American edition (Salem, 1796).

Book of History, which the Hawthornes also used, that they leaned on it heavily for facts, anecdotes and even phrasing.

So many facts can be traced to Millot that it is fruitless to account for them here, but some samples of the Hawthornes' paraphrasing may be interesting as an indication of how closely the two followed the French source. In regard to Cadmus, Millot pointed out that he made the people of Thebes "acquainted with the culture of the vine, the art of melting and working metals; and, lastly, taught them the precious foundation of extensive knowledge, by instructing them to write the alphabet." The Hawthornes paraphrased this sentence as follows: Cadmus "taught [the Greeks] the cultivation of the vine, the manufacture of metals, and the use of the alphabet."[21] In another instance, Millot referred to the "sacrilegious inscription—*To the demi-god Caesar*" on a statue placed among the depictions of Roman gods; in their turn, the Hawthornes mentioned the "impious inscription:—'THE STATUE OF CAESAR THE DEMI-GOD'."[22]

In many of his anecdotes about historical figures, Millot quoted what purported to be words that they spoke. Hawthorne and his sister used many of these stories and also adapted the quoted speeches to their purposes. This procedure is evident, for example, in the description of the death of Epaminondas, the rash statement of Brennus as he marched to plunder the temple of Apollo, and the words spoken by King Agis to his executioner.[23] In fact, Millot's history was a chief source of anecdotes for the *Universal History*. A case in point is the Hawthornes' account of the career of Alexander the Great. In order, they discussed the

[21] Cf. Abbé Millot, *Elements of General History* (Boston, 1789), I, 136, with *Universal History*, I, 190. After volume two, the organization of Millot's history became too complicated for the Hawthornes to use it easily, though there is some evidence that the last three volumes were consulted.

[22] Cf. Millot, II, 105, with *Universal History*, I, 285.

[23] Cf. Millot, I, 273, 334, 339-341, with *Universal History*, I, 208, 239-240, 241-242. Again the Hawthornes selected unusual stories to garnish the history. Also see Millot, I, 100, 102-103, II, 64, and *Universal History*, I, 97, 98, 280-281.

defeat of Darius by Alexander, the destruction of Xerxes' statue, Alexander's being incited by a debauched woman to burn Persepolis, the conquest of King Porus and Alexander's generous treatment of him, the murder of Clitus, the torture and murder of the philosopher Callisthenes, Alexander's devotion to Hephaestion, the anecdote about a pirate captured by Alexander, and the monarch's deathbed statement. In almost every detail a parallel can be found in Millot's *Elements*.[24] Despite the fact that the Hawthornes changed some of the material slightly to suit their purposes, there can be no question that while writing about Alexander, they had Millot's book open. Nor can there be much doubt that Millot's *Elements* is the main source for the material in Book One of the *Universal History*.

Enough has been cited thus far to show that the Hawthornes contributed little of their own to the compilation, and that they relied heavily on at least seven books for facts, anecdotes, paraphrasing and direct quotation. Since the *Universal History* is full of judgments, opinions, and pointed morals, one must, however, do more than cite the sources of facts and stories. Even though the Hawthornes cannot be expected to have contributed an original work of historical scholarship, it is possible that the opinions may have reflected their own attitudes. Certainly it is a temptation to interpret as Hawthorne's own views the critical comments on historical figures and contemporary events, topics about which Hawthorne, save in his historical sketches and in *Grandfather's Chair*, had relatively little to say. Unfortunately, however, if one examines the facts, he will find that the level of opinion or moralizing in the *History* was just as much subject to the pattern of previous Parley books as was the level of factual information. For almost every judgment or moral pointed in the work, there is a parallel in other Parley volumes preceding it.

For example, the judgments of important personages, such as Mohammed and Alexander the Great, and of historical events,

[24] Cf. Millot, I, 311-318, with *Universal History*, I, 232-238.

like the American Revolution, are but duplications of opinions expressed in earlier Parley books.[25] This same pattern of repetition is discernible in the interpretation of the so-called "Dark Ages"—an interpretation for which the Hawthornes have been roundly criticized, but for which they cannot be held personally accountable, since it deviates in no whit from other representations of that period as given in books published by Goodrich prior to 1837.[26]

Just as their opinions of the historical past were derived, so were their comments on the contemporary status of various countries. The *Universal History*'s concern for the barbarity flourishing in Africa, particularly in conjunction with the slave trade, is but an echo of even stronger sentiments found in *The First Book of History, Tales about Africa,* and other volumes issued under the Goodrich imprint.[27] If the Hawthornes pointed out the current unsettled state of Mexico and countries in Central and South America, they were merely copying *Parley's Method of Telling Geography,* no doubt one of the many Parley books which Goodrich had presented to them to guide their task.[28] In like fashion, the widespread poverty in Great Britain and Ireland is discussed by the *Universal History* in the sympathetic vein of previous Goodrich publications, but, in the manner of *Tales about Britain* and other Parley books, due credit is yet given to the British for

[25] Cf. *Universal History,* I, 121-122, with *Second Book,* p. 173, *Outlines of Chronology,* pp. 101, 107, and *The Tales of Peter Parley about Europe* (Boston, 1828), p. 100; *Universal History,* I, 237-238, with *Tales about Greece,* pp. 145, 151; *Universal History,* II, 262-276, with *First Book,* chaps. L-LVI.

[26] Walsh, "Note," pp. 519-520. Cf. James J. Walsh, "The Dark Ages in America," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XLIII (January, 1918), 1-20. For views of the dark ages copied in the *Universal History,* see *Second Book,* pp. 146-149; *Outlines of Chronology,* pp. 113, 115, 122; *Parley's Method of Telling Geography,* p. 65; and *Parley's Method of Telling History,* pp. 117-119.

[27] Cf. *Universal History,* I, 145, 173-175, with *First Book,* p. 82; *Second Book,* p. 154; and *The Tales of Peter Parley about Africa* (Boston, 1830), chaps. XVII, XVIII, XX.

[28] Cf. *Universal History,* II, 296, 299, with *Parley's Method of Telling Geography,* pp. 40, 47; *First Book,* p. 142; and *Peter Parley's Tales about South America* (Baltimore, 1832), p. 165.

the advanced state of their culture.[29] When the Hawthornes voiced regret for the contemporary enslavement of nations like Poland, they were again merely reflecting the views of Parley books available to them.[30] Similarly, their seeming concern for the decay and poverty in Italy is not necessarily their genuine feeling, but an expression modeled to meet Goodrich's requirements.[31] Even so strong a statement as the condemnation of the despotic power of the Russian emperor, who is called "a terror to all Europe," has its precedent in *A System of Universal Geography*.[32] Thus, since almost every judgment made about the contemporary conditions of various nations treated in the *Universal History* can be located in some book published by Goodrich before the Hawthornes' compendium was issued, it seems unsafe to attribute any of these opinions to Hawthorne himself, unless, perhaps, similar attitudes can be located in writings which are indisputably his. If opinions in the *History* can be attributed to any individual, it must be to Goodrich, who was responsible for their frequent reiteration.

In connection with the data on historical events, personages, and contemporary conditions, certain political, moral, and religious generalizations are made in the *Universal History*. Indeed, as the introduction points out, the main purpose of the work was to inculcate truth and moral behavior, a goal not peculiar to this volume alone, for the Parley books constituted a widespread propaganda effort in juvenile education. Although Hawthorne himself might have agreed with some of the principles emphasized in the Parley books and in fact did stress several of them

[29] Cf. *Universal History*, II, 141-143, with *System of Universal Geography*, pp. 492-494; *Parley's Method of Telling History*, p. 97; and *Peter Parley's Tales about Great Britain* (Baltimore, 1832), pp. 59-60.

[30] Cf. *Universal History*, II, 136, with *Second Book*, p. 136, and *System of Universal Geography*, p. 760.

[31] Cf. *Universal History*, I, 251, 253-254, 346-347, with *Tales about Rome*, pp. 24, 28, 185-187, and *Second Book*, p. 117.

[32] Cf. *Universal History*, II, 109, 113-114, 120-121, with *System of Universal Geography*, pp. 760, 770-771, and *Second Book*, pp. 136, 139.

in his later writings for children, there is no reason to believe that any of these expressed in the *History* need be accepted as the personal conviction of the compilers. Once again they were modeling their efforts on previous Goodrich books.

One of the most striking features of the *History* is an overwhelming antipathy towards despotic governments. Kings are usually portrayed as idle, proud, decadent, warlike, and callously cruel. Even if a king is permitted some merit, there is generally a reservation: for example, "it appears probable" that Cyrus, king of Persia, although considered "a wise and excellent monarch" by some historians, was "no better than most other conquerors," and Alexander the Great is pronounced different from a pirate only in degree. No mortal man ought to have as much power as many emperors have had, so the *Universal History* informs its readers with an indignation equally apparent in practically every Parley history.[33] With the despotism of kings, in addition, the *History* often associates the popes of Rome, a feature of the work which has led to the charge of anti-Catholic bias against the Hawthornes. However, the emphasis upon the tyranny of the popes cannot be construed as representing the conviction of the editors, because many Parley books express a similar sentiment.[34]

As a contrast to the arbitrary conduct of monarchs and popes, the *Universal History* stresses the liberty afforded by a democracy. With vigorous propaganda *pro patria*, the work portrays the United States as the best country in the world, completely free of the brutal tyrannies which stain the annals of monarchy. In

[33] For example, cf. *Universal History*, I, 45, 93, 237-238, 242, 301, 302, 345, 360, II, 61, 70-71, 126, 200-201, with *Parley's Method of Telling Geography*, pp. 65-66, 107-108; *Tales about Europe*, pp. v, 39, 41-42, 67, 89, 128-129; *Tales about Greece*, pp. 106-107; and *The Tales of Peter Parley about America* (Boston, 1827), pp. 7, 73-74.

[34] Cf. *Universal History*, I, 252, 343-345, 371-372, II, 191, 220-223, with *Parley's Method of Telling Geography*, pp. 86-87; *Tales about Europe*, p. 111; *System of Universal Geography*, p. 622; *Outlines of Chronology*, pp. 115, 134, 145; *Parley's Method of Telling History*, pp. 108-109; and *Second Book*, p. 111.

such emphasis upon the United States as the hope of the world, the Hawthornes were again following the ideological pattern prevailing in all of Goodrich's enterprises for children.[35]

By opposing tyrannical to democratic systems, the *History* is able to offer several desiderata for society and government: that all people should be equal, that the power of government should ultimately rest in the hands of the citizens, that the sole purpose of government should be the welfare of the people, and that the electorate should be virtuous and capable of choosing good leaders to safeguard freedom in the national community. Each of these fundamental American concepts had been vigorously espoused in Parley books published before the *Universal History*.[36]

Among the attributes of personal morality urged upon the young readers of the *History* were humility, virtue, and temperance, the same characteristics lauded in other Parley books. Emphasis is, of course, heavy upon the teachings of Christ, with an accompanying hostility toward non-Christian religions that is typical of the Goodrich propaganda campaign.[37]

In the absence of any evidence that the Hawthornes deviated even slightly from the standard attitudes adopted in all of Goodrich's previous publications, it is impossible to assume that they were expressing themselves as individuals. Rather, it seems conclusive that the *Universal History* was tailor-made, that very little in it can be safely labelled as Hawthorne's work or thought. It has been placed in the Hawthorne canon only because he and his sister were associated with it, but it represents nothing more than a piece of hack work accomplished by extracting materials from

[35] Cf., for example, *Universal History*, II, 247, 281-286, with *First Book*, p. 178, and *Tales about America*, p. 134.

[36] Cf. *Universal History*, I, 282-283, 286, 289, II, 60-62, 117-118, 171, 181, 285-286, with *First Book*, pp. 115, 123; *System of Universal Geography*, pp. 98-99, 104, 499; and *Tales about Greece*, pp. 63-64, 69, 135, 190.

[37] From among numerous references, cf. *Universal History*, I, 79, 88, 96, 101, 103, 107, 116-117, 179-180, 297-298, with *Tales about Greece*, pp. 116, 187; *Parley's Method of Telling Geography*, pp. 82, 85, 109-113; *Peter Parley's Tales about Asia* (Philadelphia, 1833), pp. 36-37, 84-86; and *Peter Parley's Book of Bible Stories* (Boston, 1834), pp. viii-x, 153, *passim*.

Parley books and other works easily available. Like most such chores, the book, despite its popularity, brought only slight monetary recompense to its compilers. However, it would be wrong to assume that the experience thus gained was of no value to Hawthorne, for it did afford him an opportunity of steeping himself in juvenile literature and world history to the advantage of his later works. From his apprenticeship on the *Universal History*, for example, he may have learned the necessity of using a framework for a juvenile book, a device later utilized in *Grandfather's Chair;* without doubt, he profited from practice in the heavy sugar-coating and moralizing prescribed for children's books of his day; and in any case, he was able to review and assemble historical facts which later crept into his writings. Such incidental benefits from the experience should not, however, obscure the fact that the *Universal History* bears practically no trace of Hawthorne's own stamp and that it should be read out of the Hawthorne canon.

Bibliographical Notes

The Houghton-Crewe Draft of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale"

Though the question of whether or not the Houghton-Crewe draft of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" is the first draft of the poem cannot be decided definitely one way or the other by any new evidence, it is perhaps helpful to reconsider the old evidence and what use has been made of it up to now by scholars, and to suggest a new resolution of some of the conflicting elements.

Charles Brown, in his account of the genesis of the ode, says:

> In the spring of 1819 a nightingale had built her nest near my house. Keats felt a tranquil and continual joy in her song: and one morning he took his chair from the breakfast table to the grass-plot under a plum-tree, where he sat for two or three hours. When he came into the house, I perceived he had some scraps of paper in his hand, and these he was quietly thrusting behind the books. On inquiry, I found those scraps, four or five in number, contained his poetic feeling on the song of our nightingale. The writing was not well legible; and it was difficult to arrange the stanzas on so many scraps. With his assistance I succeeded, and this was his "Ode to a Nightingale," a poem which has been the delight of every one.[1]

Sir Sidney Colvin published in the *Monthly Review* for March, 1903, and later in the *John Keats Memorial Volume* (1921) a facsimile of what he felt to be unquestionably the original draft of the work, together with a commentary entitled "A Morning's Work in a Hampstead Garden." In this commentary he contends that

> the manuscript bears conclusive evidence that it was written while the main and essential work of composition was actually going on in the poet's brain. On one page there is half a line of a tentative beginning—"Small, winged dryad,"—which he has abandoned as soon as written, turning to make a fresh start on another sheet. Some of the most important rhyme-words we can see coming into his mind as he writes, and being adopted after trial and cancelling of others. There are many vital corrections and alterations; with frequent signs, in the

[1] Quoted in *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. Ernest de Sélincourt (London, 1951), p. 472.

shape of dropped words and letters, unaccustomed mis-spellings and slips of the pen, that while the hand wrote the mind was too much preoccupied with the act of composition to guide it with strict care.[2]

In the light of certain physical characteristics of this manuscript, Brown's account admittedly lacks "something of absolute accuracy"; this, however, Colvin feels to be understandable because it was written twenty years after the event. For though the account may be, as Colvin says, accurate in the main, it is definitely not accurate in all particulars—if the manuscript under consideration (called the Houghton-Crewe draft) really is the original draft described by Brown. In the first place, the manuscript is not composed of "scraps of paper," but, as Colvin points out, of "half-sheets of note-paper, of exactly the same make and size as Keats was using in his correspondence with his brother and sister at the same date."[3] Secondly, there are not "four or five" of these half-sheets, but only two. Thirdly, as Colvin admits, "Brown exaggerates when he says that the manuscript is not 'well legible'; though the number of faults and corrections, and the crushing and tearing of the edges, render it truly much less neat and clear than Keats's handwriting usually is."[4] Fourthly, it is hard to see wherein lies any real difficulty in arranging the stanzas; for there are only two half-sheets of note-paper (not "so many scraps" as four or five), and the order of these is very quickly evident. In explaining this order, Colvin speculates on how it may have come about:

> It seems clear that Keats did not know how long his poem was going to be, and only took out these two half-sheets with him under the tree. Having made on one of them (leaf 2 of the facsimile) the false start above noted, he puts aside that and begins again on leaf 1: writes on it the first two and a half stanzas of the poem: then goes to leaf 2 (turning it upside down to avoid confusion with the false start) and continues on it down to the end of the fifth stanza; then goes back to the verso of leaf 1, on which he adds stanzas six and seven; and then to the verso of leaf 2, where he finishes the poem with stanza eight.[5]

[2] *The John Keats Memorial Volume* (London, 1921), p. 67.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 68. Amy Lowell in her *John Keats* (New York, 1925), II, 249, errs in her account of the order of the stanzas: "On the top of one of his half sheets, Keats wrote three words of what seems to have been an abandoned beginning to the poem, then he turned the sheet over and upside down, started properly with a title, and wrote straight on to the end of the page. He then took another sheet and wrote on to the end of that page, after which he went back to the verso of page one, but from the opposite end to the false beginning. He finished on the verso of page two."

As has been pointed out above, Colvin holds to the theory that the Houghton-Crewe draft is the original draft, despite the discrepancies between it and the original draft as described by Brown; the nature of the textual revisions in the extant manuscript of the poem is enough to convince Colvin of its authenticity as the first draft and to prove inaccurate the particulars of Brown's account. Not all scholars, however, have been willing to accept this conclusion. H. Buxton Forman, in his introduction to the Oxford *Keats,* is skeptical of the Houghton-Crewe draft's being the first:

> This draft clearly shows Keats in the act of composition—or *re*composition; but I do not think Professor Colvin proves conclusively that those two leaves were the very scraps Brown saw Keats bring in and hide. It is quite conceivable that the poet, after hiding—perhaps forgetting where he hid—the scraps, found himself in the mood to give one of the Reynoldses a copy of the ode, sat down, and recomposed it, mainly, of course, from memory.[6]

M. R. Ridley, following Forman, also voices objections to Colvin's contention. Ridley's basic quarrel with Colvin is that the latter uses the Houghton-Crewe draft, after assuming it to be the first draft from internal evidence, to prove the inaccuracy of Brown's account, rather than using Brown's account to determine the earliness of the Houghton-Crewe draft. Using the second, and to Ridley more sound method, we would expect the first draft to be, then, "four scraps of paper, each with a stanza on each side, rather ill-written, and probably heavily corrected."[7] Ridley points out what is acceptable in Forman's above-quoted conjecture which follows his objection to Colvin's position: "This supposition accounts for certain curious features in the draft; it has not enough corrections to make

[6] *The Poetical Works of John Keats* (London, 1906), p. xlviii; also, with slight changes in the wording, in the Hampstead *Keats* (New York, 1939), III, 142-143. Opposing Colvin's views is, of course, Benjamin Robert Haydon's well-known testimony in one of his letters that Keats repeated the ode to him one evening in the meadows before putting it to paper. Colvin waves this account aside as "one of the ornamental flourishes characteristic of that writer: whose vividness of statement is seldom found, when we have opportunity to test it, to co-exist with strict accuracy" (*Keats Memorial Volume*, p. 67). Amy Lowell tries to account for Haydon's remark thus: Haydon was "the man behind the throne" of the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, edited by James Elmes, where the ode was published in July, 1819. Haydon, upon first hearing the ode recited by Keats, probably suggested its publication in the *Annals;* and when Keats told him that he should have to copy out the ode before sending it to Elmes (meaning merely that he should have to make a fair copy), Haydon assumed wrongly that the ode had never been written down (*John Keats*, II, 256-257).

[7] *Keats' Craftsmanship* (London, 1933), p. 215.

one at all confident that it is the first draft;[8] on the other hand it has three or four corrections which do appear to have been made during composition and were certainly made during a period of continuous writing."[9] But Ridley also points to the obvious difficulty: according to Brown the scraps were never hidden; "he forestalled Keats in the act of hiding them, extracted them, and pieced them together."[10] Then Ridley offers a conjecture of his own:

> Suppose Keats, when he went into the garden, armed with more than our two sheets. He uses say three sheets for the real first draft, with his usual false starts, corrections, and so on. He then, still in the garden, takes our two sheets and writes the whole poem out again, with one or two false starts and some improvements as he writes. He then comes into the house with the five sheets and begins to put them away. Brown rescues them, the two fair copy sheets are sorted from the others, and the others are destroyed.[11]

Ridley is quick to admit that this explanation is not wholly satisfactory "since Keats' assistance would not be in 'piecing together' but would amount to selecting the two fair-copy sheets from the jumble and giving them to Brown; but it is perhaps no more unsatisfactory than any other supposition."[12]

There is another supposition which suggests itself and which would seem to be more satisfactory than Ridley's; for in addition to the one flaw in this latter supposition pointed out by Ridley himself, another possibly is present: if Keats took more than the two sheets of the Houghton-Crewe draft into the garden with him, the additional sheets more than likely would have been of the same size as the two extant sheets, in which case he would have brought back to the house "sheets," and not "scraps," as Brown says they were. Keeping this point in mind, we might visualize instead Keats going into the garden with four or five real scraps of paper; composing his poem on these scraps with heavy corrections; returning to the house and attempting to hide these scraps but being thwarted in the attempt by Brown; going over the scraps with Brown, and helping him arrange the stanzas in their proper order; then making a second draft

[8] Farther on, Ridley points out: "It is impossible to find any seven consecutive stanzas, or for that matter any seven stanzas at all, in the holograph of *The Eve of St. Agnes* [almost certainly a first draft] which show so low a proportion of corrections made in the act of composition" (*Keats' Craftsmanship*, p. 217).

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*

with some significant revisions, and finally destroying the scraps. "Small, winged Dryad," then, would not be a cancelled beginning of the poem, but merely a phrase jotted down either before or after the draft was made as a possible alternative to "light-winged dryad," which phrase stands in the seventh line of the first stanza (and in the Houghton-Crewe draft stood in this form from the first writing and was not arrived at through revision). Also, the order in which the stanzas are written on the two sheets would not be difficult to account for; the fact that Keats, after filling one side of a sheet, used a second sheet before writing on the verso of the first, and that he then filled the verso of the first before going to the verso of the second, could easily have been the result of his desire to allow the freshly written sheets to dry before writing on their versos. And lastly, though Colvin explains the crushing and tearing in the Houghton-Crewe draft on the basis of Brown's account (they "are quite of a kind to confirm Brown's statement about Keats having thrust the leaves away carelessly at the back of a bookshelf"[13]), such crushing and tearing could have come about quite naturally to a second draft which, as is the case with the Houghton-Crewe draft, passed through several different hands in the eighty-odd years between its composition in 1819 and its "emergence" in 1901.[14]

ROBERT N. ROTH

Charlottesville, Virginia

John Dos Passos' Textual Revisions

The question of John Dos Passos' revisions was first raised in Volume Forty-three of this publication (Third Quarter, 1949, 346 ff.) by Mr. Martin Kallich. Discussing the text of *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922), which was abridged and revised for publication in *Journeys Between Wars* (1938), Kallich accuses Dos Passos of chicanery in "camouflaging" his earlier radical and romantic views in the later book.

This accusation, frankly, is absurd. In the first place it is wrong to suspect Dos Passos of guile when both his published texts are readily available and open to public scrutiny. It is certainly an author's privilege to revise his text. The basic flaw in Kallich's thinking is that apparently he expects both Dos Passos' mind and the world to have stood still sixteen years, during the period 1922-1938. It pains Kallich to learn that Dos Pas-

[13] *Keats Memorial Volume*, p. 68.

[14] See Colvin, *Keats Memorial Volume*, p. 66, for a history of the ownership of the draft.

sos, aged forty-four, no longer thinks and feels the way he did as a callow stripling of twenty-six. Obviously, Kallich has not grasped one of the essential qualities of Dos Passos' mind, its malleability, its unusual capacity for growth, its unending quest for answers to baffling modern problems. Obviously, also, Kallich understands little about the course of world events and modern political history.

Dos Passos revises his text for the same reasons that other writers do. In 1938, when he decided to publish a book about his "journeys between wars," it was natural for him to make use of a report written on Spain during the era 1917-1922. In his new book he condensed this account because he had other journeys to write about, the adventure in Spain being but a fraction of his total experience. By 1938, Spain had undergone such profound changes and Dos Passos himself had so much matured that when he came to write about this country at the time of the Spanish Civil War, he saw things in a very different perspective. Lastly, some of the revisions in *Journeys Between Wars* are purely literary, mere attempts to improve the prose.

The whole question of Dos Passos' revised writings about Spain is enormously interesting and rewarding for the light it sheds upon the evolution of his thinking. A serious student of these revisions should begin with the article "Young Spain," published in *Seven Arts* in August, 1917. This essay later became the germinal idea of the book *Rosinante to the Road Again;* paragraphs of the original article were expanded into whole chapters in the book. Most of these chapters, also, had an earlier publication, in slightly different form, in the *Freeman* (1921 and 1922), *Liberator* (1920), *Dial* (1920), *Bookman* (1921), and *Broom* (1922). In combining these journalistic reports and impressionistic essays into a unified book, Dos Passos was forced to make some deletions, to expand many sections, to introduce wholly new transitional material, and to revise several sentences. He made these changes in order to bring his prose into conformity with his modified opinions about the rapidly changing situation in Spain and to improve the literary quality of his rather hastily written journalistic articles. Some of the deletions were necessitated by the flight of time, since Spain's relationship to World War One was no longer a current issue by 1922.

Already in *Rosinante to the Road Again* (1922) one notes that Dos Passos had revised some of his views held during the period 1917-1921. If the textual changes resulting from these altered views seem much more apparent in *Journeys Between Wars* (1938), it is simply because the novelist

and Spain had changed much more profoundly during the period 1922-1938 than during the era 1917-1921.

Another point of interest about *Rosinante to the Road Again*, incidental to the question of revisions, concerns several *errata* which so far have not been noticed. Collation of the text of the book with the texts of earlier periodical articles shows Error to have left his sly *imprimatur* in the following instances: *sun-scarred* for *sun-seared*, p. 11; *mottoes* for *moths*, p. 37; *Valle-Melan* for *Valle-Inclán*, p. 65; and *drame passionel* for *drame passioné*, p. 186.

CHARLES W. BERNARDIN

Villanova College

Mr. Kallich Replies

After all these years, Mr. Bernardin has come forth with charges that my article of 1949 is dated and my ideas "absurd." For those who wish to make an impartial and scholarly judgment, unbiased by unnecessarily unpleasant connotation, I suggest that a comparison be made between what I have written and what Mr. Bernardin says I have written.

I do not "accuse" Dos Passos of "chicanery." These quoted words are Mr. Bernardin's, definitely not mine. I confess to the word "camouflage." But anyone familiar with modern psychology, or even politics and war, for that matter, need not feel so disturbed about the implications of this word, especially as it is used in my article. It expresses simply and neatly the effect that Dos Passos either consciously or unconsciously intended—that of obscuring certain beliefs he held at one time of his life because they no longer proved to be useful at another time. I agree with Mr. Bernardin that such a camouflaging of belief may be evidence of a mind's ability to change, of its "malleability" and "unending quest for answers." But is such a change of spirit also evidence of an "unusual capacity for growth" and of "maturity"? I shall leave this question to the careful reader of Dos Passos' works. It is too large a question to answer here.

Mr. Bernardin cannot understand how anyone can attempt to be objective about Dos Passos' shifting opinions. I am not "pained" by Dos Passos' changes; I am simply interested in noting and classifying them. Apparently, it "pains" Mr. Bernardin to see Dos Passos labeled "conservative."

As for Mr. Bernardin's other comments, I should be happy to see them expanded into an article with all the necessary substantiating details. I do

not see any logical connection between these unsupported generalities and my carefully detailed observations.

Incidentally, contrary to Mr. Bernardin's remark, all Dos Passos' published texts are not "readily available." *Rosinante to the Road Again,* long out of print, is one such text. It is for this reason—certainly a legitimate one—that I have called attention to the differences between the first published versions of some of Dos Passos' ideas and their revisions in a later book, *Journeys Between Wars,* a book that is still being distributed.

MARTIN KALLICH

South Dakota State College

Abercrombie and Housman: A Coincidence in Parodies

In a recent check list of A. E. Housman,[1] I cited his parody of Mrs. Frances Cornford's verse "To a Lady Seen from the Train," beginning "O why do you walk through the fields in gloves." Housman's version was apparently written in 1910 in a letter to Sir William Rothenstein, who had sent him a copy of Mrs. Cornford's *Poems.* But not until the publication of Rothenstein's *Men and Memories* in 1932 did this parody appear in print:

> O why do you walk through the fields in boots,
> Missing so much and so much?
> O fat white woman whom nobody shoots,
> Why do you walk through the fields in boots,
> When the grass is soft as the breast of coots
> And shivering-sweet to the touch?
> O why, etc.[2]

Professor Geoffrey Tillotson, who read this comic verse in my doctoral dissertation on Housman in the University of London, suggested checking for a similar version in the works of Lascelles Abercrombie. Indeed, in *The Theory of Poetry,* which appeared in 1924, I found the following parody:

[1] William White, "A. E. Housman, An Annotated Check-List. Additions and Corrections: III," *The Library,* 5th ser., VII (September, 1952), 206.

[2] [Sir] William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories: Recollections . . . , 1902-1922* (London, Faber & Faber Limited; New York, Coward-McCann, 1932), II, 187. Housman's line 5 is close to the original "When the grass is soft as the breast of doves."

Why do you walk through the fields in boots,
Missing so much and so much?
O fat white woman whom nobody shoots,
Why do you walk through the fields in boots
When the grass is tickling soft at the roots
And shivering sweet to touch?
O why do you walk through the fields in boots,
Missing so much and so much?[3]

Although writing a personal letter, Housman obeys his scholarly instincts and accurately follows—down to the indentations and commas—the original: he changes only the necessary end-words, and adds a hyphen in line 6. On the other hand, Abercrombie commits six errors in misquoting Mrs. Cornford's poem, and spoils the rhythm in line 6 of both the original and his own version. But even with these minor variations and wholly different fifth lines, these two parodies are strikingly similar. Their principal verbal changes from the original are of course trifling: "boots" and "shoots" rhyme-words for Mrs. Cornford's "gloves" and "loves." However, the coincidence is worth recording, with a note that Housman was annoyed when Rothenstein printed his parody without permission (which most likely would have been refused);[4] whereas Abercrombie printed his version in a lecture on poetry in the University of Leeds. He states that "nobody *loves* the woman . . . because she wears *gloves*" and that "another relationship with society would have been recorded, if the authoress had happened to be an enthusiast for walking in the fields barefoot." Then after his "boots-shoots" verse, Abercrombie concludes that his slight word-change, "which leaves the external form practically unaltered, has given us quite another poem; and yet the form seems just as valid as before."[5]

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne University

[3] Lascelles Abercrombie, *The Theory of Poetry* (London, Martin Secker, 1924; New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1926), p. 85.

[4] See Grant Richards, *Housman: 1897-1936* (London, Oxford University Press, 1941; New York, 1942), pp. 53-54.

[5] Lascelles Abercrombie, *The Theory of Poetry*, pp. 85-86. It is extremely doubtful that either poet saw the other's parody before publication.

Book Reviews

CURRIER, THOMAS FRANKLIN. *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes, by Thomas Franklin Currier.* Edited by Eleanor M. Tilton for The Bibliographical Society of America. [Device] Washington Square, New York, New York University Press, 1953; London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press. xiii, 707 pp. Plates, facsimiles. 10¾ x 7¼ inches. $20.00.

All booksellers worth their salt, all librarians not sequestered in a solitary spinsterhood broken only in the late afternoon by the noisy arrival of schoolchildren, all lovers of wit, learning, and literature were immeasurably depressed by the death of Thomas Franklin Currier on September 14, 1946, with his projected bibliography of the acidulous Yankee, Oliver Wendell Holmes, uncompleted. "T. Franklin Currier," as he signed himself, was no ordinary bibliographer, but perhaps the best that America has produced. *A Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier,* the product of much arduous search, particularly in antislavery journals and other such dustbins of the past, and of years of devotion, projected Mr. Currier in 1937 into the very front rank of the most unrewarding and unrewarded science on earth. The Whittier bibliography is not merely "one of the finest single-author American bibliographies," as it was designated by another eminent practitioner, but, more justly, "the model for bibliographical enterpises of this kind."[1] So far as I know, it is the *only bibliography* which immediately rendered *all biographies* of its subject obsolete, from the virtue of containing more and livelier pertinent fact.

This signal achievement is the more to be honored in that it was accomplished under extraordinary handicaps. I do not refer to the deafness which was the unacknowledged burden of all Currier's adult life, but rather to his whole-souled commitment to his exacting post in the Harvard library. A graduate of the College in 1894, Currier was brought back to Harvard to work in the Catalogue Department by Justin Winsor, an exacting mentor whose appreciation of his potentialities was his first accolade; he was placed in charge of his department in 1902 and began

[1] Keyes D. Metcalf, "T. Franklin Currier, 1873-1946," *The News Sheet* of the Bibliographical Society of America, No. 68 (Jan. 1, 1947), p. 3.

the long battle for salaried workers to replace volunteers and for rewarded professionalism in cataloguing. When Gore Hall was abandoned for the Widener building in 1915, the ancient system of cataloguing was also abandoned and every book possessed by the library was recatalogued under the direction of Currier. Unexhausted by this tremendous task accomplished with an unaugmented staff, Currier devised what is known as "selective cataloguing," made the Slavonic collection outstanding (studying Russian himself in order to do so), and pioneered the historical education collection.[2] Yet, with all these enterprises, Currier was able to push the Whittier bibliography to as near perfection as it is ever permitted to a bibliographer to come. Universal acknowledgment of this first achievement was the ground for the high expectation and, then, what was apparently to be the disappointed hope, in the Holmes bibliography.

But not always do the gods disappoint the expectations of men, and when they choose to show their benignity, not infrequently their instrument is a woman. Several years after Mr. Currier's death, Miss Eleanor M. Tilton was invited to take over and to complete his task. Among the several persons who might have been selected, the choice of Miss Tilton was plainly dictated by her friendship with Mr. Currier, her appreciative understanding of his methods, and her own meticulousness, scholarship, sensibility, and critical skill as demonstrated in 1947 in her *Amiable Autocrat*, a biography of Oliver Wendell Holmes. I do not know what representations (if any) were made to Miss Tilton when she took over the assignment (one obituary reported that, at the time of Mr. Currier's death, his bibliography of the Autocrat, "prepared along similar lines" to his *Whittier*, "was ninety per cent complete"); it is likely that her survey of Currier's materials and her own sanguine temperament misled her to underestimate the task ahead. To Mr. Currier's eight years of work she was to add five years of her own.

What is Miss Tilton's contribution to the just-issued *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes*? John A. Kouwenhoven, who is the Chairman of the department of English at Barnard College, in which she is an as-

[2] My facts are from Harry M. Lydenberg, "T. Franklin Currier and Selective Cataloguing at Harvard," *Harvard University Library Notes*, IV (June, 1941), pp. 8-18; from "Thomas Franklin Currier, as Seen by his Staff" (compiled by Mildred M. Tucker), *ibid.*, IV, pp. 16-22; from "A Minute on the Life of T. Franklin Currier" read at the Boston Regional Catalogers Meeting, June 2, 1947, by Susan M. Haskins (typescript); and from notes provided by the family. Mr. Currier was made Assistant Librarian in 1913; Associate Librarian in 1937; he was retired in 1938 but became Honorary Curator of New England Literature and Consultant in American Literary Bibliography for the library (Metcalf, *op. cit.*, p. 3).

sistant professor, and who has had some cognizance of her labors, attempts to state to me her share in this great enterprise, as follows:

When she took over Currier's work, no part of the manuscript was ready for publication. The various parts were inconsistent in form and a good deal remained to be done. Miss Tilton's first job was to verify all of Currier's collations, figures, dates, quotations, and references. She located and examined additional copies of the books and leaflets he had listed. She added to nearly every entry, and she added a number of entries using many additional manuscript sources such as the Riverside Press Cost-books, the records of the Harvard medical faculty and those of the Boston Society for Medical Improvement. She rewrote from scratch at least two-thirds of the manuscript and revised the remainder. She prepared the manuscript for the printer and compiled the index. In the final text, she labelled as her work only controversial or doubtful material and a few things which were radically different from Mr. Currier's judgment.

Grateful as I am for this statement and grateful as others must be, I do not think it quite touches Miss Tilton's most important contribution, which was no less than complete perception of Mr. Currier's intention and perfect willingness to execute his design. This was not submission, but the highest intelligence. I knew a Yankee, possessing the shrewdness and candor of a Dr. Holmes without his cosmopolitanism, who observed that some people "had such an itch for originality that if they had knowledge of the Divine Plan they would still have to tinker with it a little to give it a touch of their own." Miss Tilton apparently resisted, or never felt, that urge; she possessed the wisdom to accept the good thing and forge ahead with it. I find that she has imparted no motion to the project to alter its plan materially from that of Currier's *Whittier*. The result is, in my view, a perfect collaboration: Miss Tilton working in the spirit of the master or inspired by that spirit—whichever you wish—has completed the book as Thomas Franklin Currier would have completed it and in no less time, if that is important.

A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes is a masterpiece of bibliography, another touchstone for the profession. I contemplated comparing it with George B. Ives's bibliography, published under the same title in 1907, a book considered exemplary when it appeared. But such a comparison, I quickly discerned, would do more to expose the limitations of Ives than to reveal the very great merits of this new bibliography, which endures no comparison beyond what I have made with the *Whittier*. Here is everything that one could demand of a bibliography of the Autocrat. The three parts of the bibliography are devoted, respectively, to the sepa-

rate publication of books, pamphlets, leaflets, and broadsides, here entitled "Editions and Leaflets"; to the "Poems," both published and unpublished, arranged alphabetically with cross-reference to variant titles; and to the "Prose," both published and unpublished (with the exception of notes Holmes took for medical or literary purposes), again arranged alphabetically. Just as the papers of John Allan, Richmond merchant, have been exploited to develop the life of Edgar Poe, so in reverse fashion Part III of this splendid bibliography, with its record, not merely of Holmes's contributions to periodicals, but of his going up and down the earth, of his lectures, addresses, and reports, could be exploited to develop a very fair history of the advance of medical science in the nineteenth century. Part I, in addition to titles published under Holmes's own name, contains books with introductions by Holmes and posthumous publications including first issues. All reprints by Holmes's own American publishers are listed; so, too, are the first English editions of the major works and those for which Holmes supplied special prefaces. In Parts II and III, demonstrable dates of composition, the occasion for writing, the first book or pamphlet printing, and the first printing in a book by Holmes are noted. Manuscripts are located, and their handwriting is commented on. All parts contain letters, excerpts from letters, newspaper commentary, and that of acquaintances on Holmes's work; these are most skillfully employed to illumine whatever is the subject of commentary.

A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes is provided with ten invaluable appendices, devoted respectively to (1) Anonymous Poems [a discussion of the tangled matter of Holmes's first unsigned contributions]; (2) Sheet-Music Editions; (3) Star-Spangled Banner [a presentation of the bibliographical problems connected with the additional stanza which Holmes wrote for our national anthem]; (4) National Anthem Prize Contest, 1861; (5) Popular Lectures; (6) Printed Letters [chronologically arranged]; (7) First Printings in Book or Pamphlet; (8) American Reprints and Editions for the Blind; (9) English Reprints and Foreign Editions; and (10) Biography and Criticism. Appendix 8 is the only one to which Miss Tilton made no additions; Mr. Currier's plan called for listing all British editions recorded in the *Publishers' Circular*, the *English Catalogue*, and the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*. Even if this plan had been completely executed it would have provided possibly only a beginning for an examination of the issue of piracy. The effort that went into compiling Appendices 6 and 10 is to be especially commended and is so, in its results.

As with the *Whittier*, the enormous amount of miscellaneous material which is included under the individual entries is the vein of richest mineral in the book. When Ives published his bibliography, employing the new mixed chronological and dictionary arrangement, an index was thought hardly necessary. The approximately 7,000 index entries (my estimate) in the Currier and Tilton[3] demonstrate not merely how much material would be inaccessible to the reader without such an index but hint at the veritable treasure trove tucked away in the volume. Let no one suppose that these entries are valuable for Dr. Holmes alone. I have at the moment an especial interest in Henry James. Led by the index to a report of Holmes on a séance on May 7, 1886, I discover two spiritualists, father and daughter (the latter, the medium), who may well have served as models for Selah and Verena Tarrant in *The Bostonians*. I cite this to show that *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes* can hardly be neglected by anyone interested in any literary figure of the nineteenth century.

The book has twenty-five full-page, carefully chosen and much-varied illustrations. There are four portraits of the Autocrat—at forty, at fifty, at seventy, and at eighty. But more important, there are reproduced pages from various manuscripts, illustrating Holmes's hand at different periods in his career; title pages and covers for controversial issues; programs for special occasions and theatrical presentations; a portrait of the actress who played Elsie Venner; class notes; proof annotated by W. T. Fields; and questions for medical students. From the bibliographer's point of view the most interesting are the pair of covers entitled "National Music," facing pages 520 and 521, respectively, pointing up some of the differences in two of the issues of a publication that produced in some versions various readings of Holmes's additional stanza for "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Publication of *A Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes* will make the year 1953 memorable in the annals of bibliographical science. I think it somewhat lamentable that so much industry and skill have been lavished on men of letters who are so distinctly second-rate as Holmes and Whittier, when geniuses of the order of Hawthorne, Melville, and James stand in want of comparable treatment. This suggests to me again the need of better rapport between scholarship and criticism. But this thought touches not at all upon the merits of the *Whittier* and the *Holmes*. They are superlatively good books, done by incomparably equipped people, thoughtful, sympathetic, informed, and meticulous. I hope that the future bibli-

[3] The Index does not include, naturally, titles in Parts II and III.

ographers of Hawthorne, Melville, James, *et al.*, will use these volumes as their models. We shall not be satisfied if they fashion their work after any others. Here, and here alone, is superlative accomplishment.

OSCAR CARGILL

New York University

WALKER, ALICE. *Textual Problems of the First Folio: Richard III, King Lear, Troilus and Cressida, 2 Henry IV, Hamlet, Othello.* Cambridge, At The University Press, 1953. viii, 170 pp. 7½ x 5 inches. $3.75. (Shakespeare Problems Series, VII.)

Textual Problems of the First Folio is the seventh and latest volume in the distinguished series of Shakespeare Problems, now under the general editorship of Professor John Dover Wilson. Following hard upon the publication of several related studies in the periodicals and building upon them, it marks a turning point in the discussion of Shakespeare's text and will, I think, be recognized as a landmark of almost equal magnitude with A. W. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909).

It is a truism that each play of Shakespeare's presents its own problems, but speaking in general terms it may be said that seventeen plays are akin in that the Folio is the only authority, for there are no surviving manuscripts and no earlier editions in quarto. Another group of five plays is related by the fact that the Folio supplies the authentic text but each had appeared earlier in a "bad" quarto (*2* and *3 Henry VI, Henry V, Merry Wives,* and *A Shrew*). This last differs from the other four; a few critics consider it a "bad" quarto of Shakespeare's play, while others call it his source, and yet others think it a "bad" quarto of the play on which Shakespeare based *The Shrew.* Eight other plays had appeared in "good" quartos before 1623, and these were the sources—but not always the only sources, and sometimes at one or more removes—of the Folio text. The six plays considered by Miss Walker constitute a more refractory group.

The Folio text of *Hamlet* has generally been thought to have back of it a theatrical manuscript that was independent of "bad" Quarto 1 and "good" Quarto 2. The Quarto text of *Richard III,* which appears to be the end product of a communal act of memory by the King's Men, is acknowledged to be inferior to the Folio text. The same may be said of *Lear,* whose Q1 Duthie thinks had a similar origin. *2 Henry IV* has a longer, better text in F than in Q. As for *Othello* and *Troilus,* opinion has been divided, but F has seemed to possess substantive texts. The purpose

of Miss Walker's book is to assert that in many respects the Folio texts of these six plays derive from the Quartos and, in consequence, possess much less authority than they have been accorded.

Her method is to study the bibliographical and textual minutiae of the Folio texts as they have never quite been studied before: in terms of the compositors who set the type. This may appear to some to be reducing textual study to its very lowest terms. Be that as it may, the results are revolutionary. And if the purpose of textual criticism be to produce the most nearly accurate text possible, what mathematical or bibliographical minutiae or techniques are too humble, so long as they yield results? The pity of it is that Miss Walker's methods have not been used before. Over twenty years ago, E. E. Willoughby demonstrated that it is possible to identify two compositors who worked on F in William Jaggard's shop by the application of spelling tests, and in recent years several scholars have extended or refined this technique. It is not yet perfected, as Philip Williams has shown in his important review (*Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV, 481-483) of Miss Walker's book and in a cognate article on *King Lear* (*loc. cit.*, pp. 451-460). I predict confidently that Willoughby, Hinman, Miss Walker, and Williams will have many disciples and that many valuable discoveries will be made.

What are Miss Walker's contributions to our knowledge of the textual history of these six plays? First, she describes some of the characteristics of Jaggard's compositors A and B:

> Neither interfered habitually with the idiom of his copy. . . . Both were sophisticators (B more so than A) in spelling and punctuation. . . . Compositor A was, in general, the more attentive and the more faithful to copy. B was less conservative and more slapdash, carried more in his head than he could memorize, omitted lines and words more frequently, and was more prone to memorial substitutions and even deliberate bodging. . . . Compositor A had . . . a greater liking for italics than B. . . . Compositor B's pages have a much trimmer look than A's, partly because his tendency was to avoid turn-overs in verse by arranging a single line as two lines . . . ; whereas Compositor A had less prejudice against verse turn-overs. . . .

With information such as this, it becomes possible for editors to evaluate many variants objectively. They can also reconsider the problem, so hotly debated of late, of Shakespeare's supposed dramatic use of short lines, as in *Macbeth* and *Coriolanus*. Did A, who had no prejudice against verse turnovers, set controversial passages that abound in short lines? Or are they in a block of text set by B, who elsewhere can be proved to have

broken up lines of verse too long for the narrow column of the Folio and made short lines?

Next she takes each play and proves that the Folio text has back of it a Quarto. Enough details of spelling, punctuation, and typography are perpetuated in the Folio to establish indebtedness. Miss Walker thinks it was direct, that copies of the Quartos were annotated and corrected by reference to a playhouse manuscript and used as copy by Jaggard. I agree about the partly derivative nature of the F texts, but, like Williams, whose review has been referred to above, I consider it more likely that a transcript was prepared for the printer's use. Williams thinks the transcript of *Lear,* for example, was a prompt book consisting of "good" pages of the Pide Bull Quarto interleaved with handwritten pages copied from a playhouse manuscript. This I doubt. It seems to me more likely that the editor, if we may use the term, sat down with a copy of the Quarto and the manuscript prompt book before him and made a transcript of Q, altering and correcting *currente calamo* and in some places copying out passages of considerable length from the prompt book. In this fashion he would preserve the Quarto peculiarities listed by Miss Walker and also the anomalous details noted by Williams that are otherwise so difficult to account for.

In conclusion, let me say that while I agree with Miss Walker in many things, I suspend judgment on certain details and disagree about others. One thing to be commended is her statistical analysis of variants and some of the conjectures arising therefrom. Another is her insistence that once an editor has made allowance for compositorial contamination of F, he is obligated to exercise a new freedom in the evaluation of the residual variants. I entertain some doubts about the ability to pronounce that any given passage of text was set hastily, for many things went on in Jaggard's shop that we shall never know about. It seems to me dangerous to try to work out a day-to-day schedule for the compositors and pressmen; there are too many imponderables—not that Miss Walker goes quite so far, but others tend to do so. Because heavily annotated quartos would make exceedingly difficult copy, I now believe the evidence is strong in favor of the use of transcripts in printing the six plays examined in this book. And I am dissatisfied with the suggestion that the boys who played Goneril and Regan collaborated in producing the manuscript from which Okes printed the Pide Bull Quarto of *Lear.*

James G. McManaway

The Folger Shakespeare Library

BAIN, JR., JOHN, *compiler. Tobacco in Song and Story.* New York, The New York Public Library, 1953. v, 114 pp. Numerous marginal illustrations. 10 x 7¼ inches. $7.00. (Arents Tobacco Collection, Publication No. 4.)

This volume is a handsome facsimile, with pictorial additions, of a work compiled by John Bain, Jr. (1861-1938), whose father was the printer of *The Tobacco Leaf*, the oldest tobacco trade journal. In time, John Bain, Jr., became the treasurer, and eventually the owner and publisher of the periodical, so that he had a practical interest in the subject of his literary undertaking. The little anthology, first published in 1896 by Arthur Gray and Company, was republished as a "new" edition in 1901 by the H. M. Caldwell Company of New York and Boston; and it is a copy of the latter edition which is reproduced in facsimile. The especial features of the copy, now in the Arents Tobacco Collection at the New York Public Library, are the marginal illustrations. Some former owner had the pages inlaid into quarto sheets, and then passed the book around to a number of illustrators, requesting them to add pictorial embellishments for the anthology.

It is agreeable to find in the volume the full text of old, half-remembered quotations, and a pleasure to discover so much new material on the subject. It is instructive, too, to view it in terms of the social attitudes of other times compared with those of today. Then, it is convenient to have a useful reference book on a subject of general interest, whatever it is. It "was evident" to John Bain, Jr., as he states in his introduction, that "no volume treating on Tobacco had heretofore appeared which contained all that deserved a place in the literature of the weed."

To meet this pressing need John Bain, Jr., designed his anthology, and did it very well. I found there a poem I vaguely remembered about a man who was confronted with this ultimatum from his betrothed: "You must choose between me and your cigar." The poem, entitled "The Betrothed," is by Rudyard Kipling. The man in the poem asserted his manhood, deciding that there were a "million surplus Maggies" but "a good cigar is a smoke." I then sought, and found, a dimly recalled verse in the poem on the "Indian Weed" by George Wither, dated 1620. One of the verses that took my fancy reads:

> And when the smoke ascends on high,
> Thinke thou beholdest the vanity
> Of worldly stuffe, gone with a puffe.
> Thus thinke, then drinke tobacco.

The anthology begins, appropriately, with a short life of Sir Walter Raleigh. The first section of selections is entitled: "The Philosophy of Smoking." The second section is: "The Poetry of Smoke." The third is: "Smokers' Stories." Then, "Tobacco Facts," and miscellaneous selections come at the end. Among the authors of the selections are Captain Marryat, Richard Le Gallienne, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Lord Byron, Charles Lamb, R. K. Munkittrick, and Austin Dobson. The book is by no means a book of quotations. It is a highly entertaining anthology of songs and stories about tobacco.

Reviewing the marginal illustrations to discover the social attitudes toward tobacco, I found that, in those days, tobacco, always considered a staple enjoyment for men, was deemed a surreptitious indulgence for women. I found that of the over two hundred marginal sketches, but twelve represented women smokers, and these were either ballet girls or society women. Eleven smoked cigarettes. Twenty-five of the men smoked cigarettes, too, but most of these were the gilded youth of the day. Mature, upstanding men smoked cigars and pipes. Fifty-one were pipe smokers, and the remaining one hundred and twelve smoked cigars. Only one sketch is signed.

In her delightful foreword, from which I have plundered several factual statements about the compiler, Miss Sarah Dickson suggests that readers may find some amusement "in the attempt to decide which of a number of prominent early twentieth-century artists drew each illustration." Following this suggestion I made a number of guesses. The signed sketch is the very artistic, full-length portrait, on page 37, of Thomas Bailey Aldrich. It is signed by Oliver Herford. A number are by E. W. Kemble, the illustrator of *Huckleberry Finn*. These are: on page 39, a happy man in a bathtub smoking a cigar; on page 109, a colored woman with a basket, smoking a corncob pipe; and, on the same page, a young colored man supported by a cane as he smokes a most satisfying cheroot. Then there is a likeness of "Mutt"—or is it "Jeff"?—on page 31, by Bud Fisher. There is also a likeness of Bill Nye, a full-length figure at the bottom of page 120, by F. B. Opper.

By far the most artistic work is that of James Montgomery Flagg. Some of the heads in the little sketches are admirable characterizations. My favorite of this small, full-length portraiture is the figure of the supercilious man, on page 103, in a golf suit and wearing a cap, who examines the end of his cigar as he leans against the bar rail. His expression of satis-

faction on viewing his excellent cigar is a very life-like portrait in miniature. Other pictures by the artist are on pages 32, upper right, 63, 72, 75, 97, and 118.

The book is the fourth of the Arents Tobacco Collection publications. The first in the series is *A Few Words About Pipes, Smoking & Tobacco,* by Alfred Crowquill; the second, *Tobacco is American, The Story of Tobacco before the Coming of the White Man,* by Herbert Spinden; and the third, *Jan Van Hunks,* a ballad by Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

THEODORE BOLTON

The Century Association, New York

STERN, MADELEINE B. *Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie.* Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1953. x, 281 pp. Plates. 8¾ x 5¾ inches. $3.75.

She was brilliant. She was charming. She had a career on the stage, in journalism, in society on two continents. She shone on the lecture platform. She quite frequently told the truth. She was ultra-respectable and was mixed up in a number of scandals. She made $100,000 a year. She had four husbands (two of whom died insane, one of whom was Oscar Wilde's brother). She quite obviously indulged in a good deal of extra-curricular activity. She was just about to annex a fifth husband, when the gentleman (perhaps not too unfortunately) died. She owned a fortune in diamonds (at least it looked like a fortune till appraised). Her birth was undoubtedly just a little bit illegitimate. But she created herself a Baroness—and made it stick. It was some consolation for not marrying that fifth husband. And she left nearly two million dollars to woman suffrage.

She was, in short, Mrs. Frank Leslie, one of the first American women to rise high in the publishing world, in that nineteenth century which is supposed to have prevented feminine achievement. When the original Frank Leslie (whose name, to be sure, was something else) finally died, the sorrowing widow went into court and acquired the legal right to call *herself* Frank Leslie—without the Mrs. It was a great help in the business.

Out of such material, no one could make a really dull book. Certainly Miss Madeleine B. Stern has made a very brilliant and a very readable one. The biography is a notable contribution to the history of American publishing, the most important for some years. It is also a thoroughgoing

piece of hard, honest research, which has apparently missed nothing in the way of original sources. But it is a great deal more. It is a rattling good story, which loses nothing in interest because Miss Stern has worked so hard to make sure that it is accurate. The author has fully realized the vivid nature of her material and has made skilled use of the human interest implicit in it. Almost any reader (serious, frivolous, educated or otherwise) will be delighted with this fantastically true tale—spiced with the author's sly, and occasionally naughty, sense of humor.

JOHN BAKELESS

ALKER, LISL. *Verzeichnis der an der Universität Wien approbierten Dissertationen 1945-1949*. Vienna, Verlag O. Kerry, 1952. xi, 140 pp. 9 x 6 inches.

Dr. Alker lists over 1500 dissertations, arranged under twenty-six subject groupings, with details of author, title, pagination, and date. The 30-page Authoren- und Schlagwortregister at the end is a model of thoroughness and a silent rebuke to some of the slapdash indexers of this country, though even in so perfect an index we note the accidental omission of Henry James, 1179.

Bibliographers will be chiefly interested in the dissertations on the Viennese press, on Byzantine influence in twelfth-century book illumination, and on Tibetan papermaking. But there are others that will be of interest to Americanists: a treatment of the image of the United States in German travel literature of the nineteenth century; a history of the American theatre; and studies of Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, James, Steinbeck, Wharton, Whitman, and Whittier. Among the English authors who are dealt with may be mentioned Byron, Conrad, Hardy, Maugham, O'Casey, Priestley, Scott, Shakespeare, Swift, and Thackeray.

The manuscript dissertations themselves are on deposit at both the University of Vienna and at the Austrian National Library, and may be borrowed "under certain conditions." Excerpts are "permitted," but "total copies" and "photo copies" are "forbidden." To what extent and in what manner these restrictions will apply to potential American users is not clear.

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

University of Virginia

HENDERSON, ROBERT W. *Early American Sport. A Check-list of Books by American and Foreign Authors Published in America Prior to 1860 Including Sporting Songs.* Second Edition Revised and Enlarged. New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1953. xv, 234 pp. 12 plates. 9¼ x 6 inches. $10.00.

In 1937 the Grolier Club, under the enthusiastic guidance of two great sportsmen, the late Harry T. Peters and the late David Wagstaff, put on the first important exhibition of early American sporting books. Among those who helped with the show was Robert W. Henderson, late of the New York Public Library but still (as for many years) also librarian, in his odd moments, of America's greatest sporting library at the Racquet and Tennis Club on Park Avenue in New York City.

Out of this pleasant enterprise, but with additions from many sources, grew the first inclusive checklist of American sporting books before 1860 which Mr. Henderson compiled and which the Grolier Club published in a charming limited edition in 1937. The compiler has now almost doubled the size of the work (the original 786 editions of 392 titles having grown to 1,217 editions of 628 titles).

This volume, like its predecessor, attempts to record, with one location of each title where possible, all sporting books "by American and foreign authors published in America prior to 1860," to which the new edition has added entries for 30 sporting songs. It is mainly a record of books on athletic and field sports and does not include indoor sports and games, though Hoyle's *Games* is listed because it includes archery, bowls and golf. Lawn tennis and lacrosse, as played today, had not been invented by 1860 and so are omitted; so also is croquet, since it had not become popular here until after that date and does not appear in our early sporting literature.

Since the horse has an important place in the checklist, books on farriery, horse breeding and training are included, as well as those on associations for the apprehension of horse thieves. It is also surprising, but most interesting, to find here lists of books on duelling and gambling, though it may be stretching a point to call them outdoor sports. Why not also include the lives of famous horse thieves (Henry Tufts), highwaymen (Captain Lightfoot) and pirates (Captain Kidd) while you are about it? They certainly were outdoor sports!

The original work was arranged chronologically under the date of each first edition, with later editions following the first, with an index of authors, editors and all titles. For convenience of reference the present

volume is far superior, since it is arranged alphabetically by authors and by titles of anonymous works, with later editions of each title chronologically under the first, and an index of subjects in which the individual books are arranged chronologically under their subjects. The subject index is a welcome addition, and we can well spare the titles of books by known authors which have been dropped from this volume, for they are not essential to the specialist. It is also an improvement to have the dozen plates precede the checklist instead of being scattered through the text, to the confusion of the user, as in the first edition.

In order to keep the price within reason, the volume was printed on a somewhat poorer grade of paper and with smaller type, larger type page, narrower margins and cheaper cuts than in the beautiful first edition with its charming title and gravure plates. However, the arrangement and ample spacing of titles make the second edition a handy, readable volume admirably arranged for quick and easy reference. Though it contains almost double the number of entries, it is almost exactly the same size as the first edition.

The editor found 567 of his 1,217 editions in his own Racquet and Tennis Club library, and secured additional titles from 22 other collections, including the following, arranged in order of greatest usefulness to the compiler: New York Public Library, Library of Congress, American Antiquarian Society and Yale, with one to fourteen titles credited to each of the remaining libraries, including three private collections. Since the publication of the first edition, the W. M. Van Winkle library has been sold at auction, the David Wagstaff collection has gone to Yale, and the Harry T. Peters library has been inherited by his son of the same name. The College of William and Mary is an added source in the new edition, having contributed the titles of two books and two songs on dogs, perhaps from the extensive Howard M. Chapin dog collection.

The dates of a few first-American references, found in the subject index, are interesting: baseball, 1762 (roll over, Abner Doubleday!); boxing, 1808; canoeing, 1836; cock fighting, 1803; cricket, 1762; dogs, 1794; exercise, 1745 (the author appropriately is Armstrong); farriery, 1712; fencing, 1734; fishing, 1739; fox hunting, 1736; golf, 1772; horse breeding, 1718; hunting, 1786 (Daniel Boone); racing, 1799; riding, 1771; hunting songs, 1774; swimming, 1814 (Ben Franklin); trapping, 1815; trotting, 1813; wrestling, 1820; and yachting, 1833.

In the main alphabet you will find such delectable rarities as *The Amer-*

ican Shooter's Manual, 1827; Astley's *Modern Riding-Master,* 1776; Blackwell's *Complete System of Fencing,* 1734; *Cabinet of Natural History,* 1830-34 (with a complete description of plates, added in this edition); *Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon[e],* Norwich, 1786 (the compiler says that Dr. Rosenbach owned the only known copy, but I wouldn't be surprised to find it also in the collection of Mr. Thomas W. Streeter[1]); *Hunters of Kentucky,* 1847 (the compiler did not know that this is attributed to Benjamin Bilson or that it is a pirated edition of the *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie,* 1831, or that there are copies in the Library of Congress, New-York Historical Society and New York Public Library besides the supposedly unique H. V. Jones copy to which he refers); *Husband-Man's Guide,* 1712; *Little Pretty Book,* 1762 (first mention of baseball); Seccombe's *Business and Diversion,* 1743 (a sermon, but first American fishing title); Smith's *Husbandman's Magazene,* 1718; *Sportsman's Companion,* 1783; Tome's *Pioneer life; or, Thirty Years a Hunter,* 1854; and Walton's *Compleat Angler,* London, Edinburgh and Philadelphia, 1837 (a new entry in this revision and ten years earlier than the supposed first American edition).

Though a few of the titles in this checklist may not be strictly sporting books, no collector could resist them, and so the compiler is amply justified in including them. Carefully and accurately edited, this compilation is nearly twice the size of its first edition; it is a handy, convenient, well-indexed bibliographical aid, and should be added to the reference shelves of all collectors, librarians and booksellers interested in the literature of American sport.

R. W. G. Vail

The New-York Historical Society

Malclès, Louise Noëlle. *Les Sources du travail bibliographique. Tome II, *-**. Bibliographies spécialisées (Sciences humaines).* Genève, Librairie E. Droz; Lille, Librairie Giard, 1952. 1 vol. in 2 (IX, 1-480 pp.; 2 p. l., pp. 481-954).

For the human sciences, particularly as cultivated in Western Europe, librarians will find the new volume of Malclès very useful not only as a means of bibliographical orientation in specialized fields but as a guide

[1] Mr. Streeter writes: "I bought my copy of the *Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon,* Norwich, Printed by John Trumbull, 1786, from Goodspeed's over ten years ago. The Doctor was so proud of having the only copy that I never had the heart to tell him that I had a copy. It's a nice piece." *Editor.*

for the systematic building up of collections. At the same time, the volume may be regarded as a basic handbook in the apprenticeship to research.

In using the expression "bibliographies spécialisées," Malclès ranges far beyond bibliographies as such. For each field is selected "les ouvrages qui passent pour être des chefs de file, parce qu'ils ouvrent des portes, remontent à l'origine des problèmes, font le point des acquisitions en fournissant la bibliographie des sujets." Under each field are given in logical order the general historical and bibliographical manuals, dictionaries and encyclopedias, bibliographies (both retrospective and current), and the periodicals including book reviews and other bibliographical material.

Emphasis has been placed upon the inclusion of the more recent and more comprehensive works, especially of the last twenty-five years, and particularly of the period since 1940. Although French works predominate, the selection of works in English, German, Italian, Spanish, etc., seems very extensive.

An enumeration of the human sciences included in the following order will give some idea of the extent of the work: prehistory, anthropology, ethnography, and sociology; general linguistics and linguistic geography; universal history and the sciences auxiliary to history; Greek and Latin antiquity, medieval Greek and medieval Latin; medieval, modern, and contemporary history; history of the nations of Europe and America, with bibliographies for Africa, Asia, and Oceania; Romance languages; Celtic language and literature; Germanic languages; non-Indo-European languages of Europe; universal and European literary history, comparative literature; religious sciences; geography; archaeology and arts, musicology; juridical, political, economic, and social sciences; philosophical sciences; language, literature and history of the Slavic and Balkan countries; and the Near East, Middle East, and the Far East.

The volume reflects great credit upon Mlle. Malclès and her collaborators who have helped with or edited some of the more difficult sections, and holds forth great promise for the third volume to be devoted to specialized bibliographies in the exact and technical sciences.

JAMES B. CHILDS

The Library of Congress